

Argentine navy quits Falklands

LONDON (Reuters). — The risk of an imminent clash between the British and Argentine navies receded yesterday as Britain reported nearly all Argentine warships had been withdrawn from the Falkland Islands.

Word of the Argentine pullback came as U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig headed back to London from Buenos Aires for a second round of talks with the British government in his effort to settle the Falkland crisis peacefully.

A spokesman for Haig said that he had some "specific ideas" to discuss, but declined to go into detail. In Buenos Aires yesterday morning, Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez said after meeting with Haig: "There are some Argentine proposals that the Americans are carrying which could serve as the basis for an agreement." He did not elaborate.

Diplomatic sources in Buenos Aires said that one idea Haig may be taking back was a proposal by Peru for an international peace-keeping force to occupy the archipelago.

Britain had warned Argentina its submarines would fire on any warships in a 200-mile (320 km.) "war zone" around the disputed Falklands when a blockade goes into effect this morning (6 a.m. Israel time).

Less than 18 hours before the deadline, the British defence ministry said all but two of Argentina's warships were now back in ports on the Argentine mainland.

A defence spokesman said that only a destroyer and a frigate were still at sea. But he refused to say if either was in the war zone Britain had declared.

Haig had been due to return to Washington, and his sudden decision to return to London appears to have breathed new life into his peace mission.

Argentine government sources reported that Haig planned to return to Buenos Aires tomorrow, and the Secretary of State said he had "some specific ideas for discussion" with Britain's Premier Margaret Thatcher.

Britain's new Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym, clearly expected Haig's peace shuttle would at least delay the possibility of naval action around the Falklands, 640 km. off Argentina's east coast.

Pym said Britain was adamant that Argentina must withdraw its forces from the islands "before there can be anything remotely like negotiations" and that the threat to sink Argentine warships still stood.

However, he said Haig's return trip to London suggested there was some scope for finding a diplomatic solution.

Kuwait: Shooting is crime against Islam holy sites

KUWAIT (AP). — Kuwait accused Israel yesterday of committing a crime against Islamic holy shrines in Jerusalem, charging that an Israeli soldier had opened fire on Muslim worshippers at al-Aksa mosque killing two people and injuring 30 others.

"The aggression is a new circle in the series of crimes Israel is committing in the occupied Arab lands, utilizing the continuous American aid and the current Arab situation," Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs Abdel-Aziz Hussein said.

In Beirut, Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat charged yesterday that the lone gunman was acting on orders from the Israeli government and described the incident as "an ugly crime and religious plot."

Costume drama...



for summer beach wear. Today takes a close look at latest fashions for getting into the swim of things.

This hats to take off: Biba makes a comeback: body imagery; and perfumed imports.

All in Today Fashion and Beauty, in Tuesday's Jerusalem Post



Security men seize Allan Harry Goodman at the end of yesterday's shooting on the Temple Mount. (Rahamim Israeli)

Many hurt as Moslem crowds seek revenge

Two killed as crazed gunman runs amok on Temple Mount

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
and ISRAEL AMRANI
Jerusalem Post Reporters

An apparently demented American immigrant in Israel army uniform shot his way onto the Temple Mount yesterday in an incident that resulted in the deaths of two Arabs and the wounding by gunshot of more than a dozen others.

The violation of the holy site, the worst since the arson committed in al-Aksa Mosque in 1968 by a Christian tourist, touched off widespread riots that injured 32 Israelis and tourists. Dozens of Arabs were injured by clubs. The Supreme Moslem Council in Jerusalem called for a seven-day general strike beginning today.

The Jewish gunman, tentatively identified as Allan Harry Goodman, 38, was captured inside the twelve-century old Dome of the Rock by police officers who subsequently had to run with him through a knife-brandishing mob seeking to lynch him.

The shootings on the holy site, which touched off deep-seated religious passions in East Jerusalem and throughout the Moslem world, were swiftly condemned by Israeli authorities including the two chief rabbis, who said the perpetrator had "removed himself from the Jewish people" by murdering innocent people on the holy site. Israeli authorities attempted urgently yesterday to curb the impact of the incident in meetings with Arab leaders in the city.

The incident began shortly after 9 a.m. when Goodman, described as burly and bearded, entered the Temple Mount through Bab el

Ghawana, the northernmost gate in the western side of the Mount. Dressed in army uniform and carrying an American-made M-16 rifle, which is widely used in the Israel Defence Forces, Goodman shot and wounded the Wakf guard and the Arab policeman posted at the gate who tried to stop him. Walid Jundi, an Arab policeman posted at Bab en Nadhir, about 70 metres south, saw Goodman running towards him. Before the policeman could draw his pistol, the assailant fired. The bullet pierced Jundi's left hand, which he had raised to chest level, and lodged in a pocket calculator in the breast pocket of his Israeli police jacket.

According to Arab eyewitnesses, Goodman ran towards the magnificent golden-domed Moslem shrine, firing at every Arab he saw. Police officer Jundi said Goodman also fired at the small police station on the Temple Mount in which the Jewish police commander of the area was sitting.

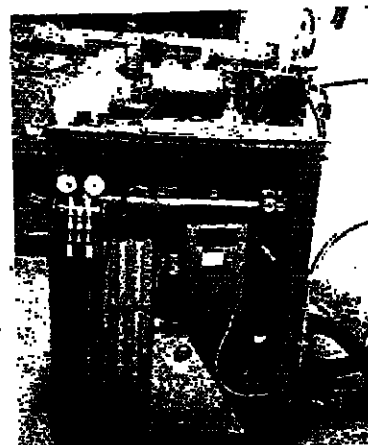
Haj Salah Yamani, a 65-year-old Wakf guard at the Dome of the Rock, was shot dead at the entrance to the shrine. A 57-year-old cleaner in the shrine, Mohammed Marwan Amin Qutineh, said later in the Hospice Hospital that someone had run in shouting, "Let's close the door." Before he realized what was happening, said Qutineh, he had been wounded in the leg and the man in army uniform was inside the mosque "shooting at people."

A Wakf guard said there were a number of tourists, apparently French, in the mosque who lay down on the floor when the shooting started. None was apparently injured.

also remember that the days of the mufti al-Husseini, Hitler's agent, are gone, never to return."

The two chief rabbis in a statement of almost unprecedented severity, condemned the killing and its perpetrator, who they said had "cut himself off from the Jewish people."

Kollek expressed "sorrow and shock" in the name of all the city's residents. The mayor also condemned "small, irresponsible groups" of Jews who have attempted to pray on the Temple Mount for creating an atmosphere in which fanaticism grows.



This black box houses the prototype of the "Ecological Energy System," said to have been patented in the U.S. by Joseph Cardone and Kenneth Shatz. Shatz says he sent his device to Economic Minister Ya'acov Meridor's protegee Daniel Berman last year, and now wants it back.

"black box," the heart of the device. He also has with him a copy of a video tape showing the prototype of his invention in

A 21-year-old Arab, Saleh Dari of Issawiya village, said he was praying near the Foundation Stone around which the shrine is built, when he heard shooting above him. He looked up to see the man with the rifle shooting at him. He was hit in the shoulder and hospitalized at the Hospice Hospital.

Goodman apparently fired out through the main door of the Dome of the Rock until his two magazines were empty. Fully loaded, each magazine could hold 30 bullets. Border police fired back.

With drawn guns, the commander of the Southern Police District, Nit-zav Yehoshua Caspi, and four other officers entered the shrine after questioning an Arab who had fled. Taking shelter behind columns, they saw Goodman standing on the Foundation Stone.

According to Jewish tradition, the stone is the site where Abraham prepared to sacrifice Isaac. According to Moslem tradition, it is

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Arafat: 'We'll teach them a lesson'

By DAVID BERNSTEIN
Post Middle East Affairs Reporter
and agencies

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat warned yesterday that should Israel forces invade South Lebanon his fighters there would "teach them a lesson."

Addressing a rally in Beirut, Arafat is quoted in agency reports as warning Prime Minister Menachem Begin "and his military gang that our people are not worried about an imminent Israel attack because they are prepared to lay down their lives for Palestine."

He went on to add that his forces and their leftist Lebanese allies were "in top condition and are actually looking forward to the expected attacks."

"We will teach them a lesson," he declared. For all his bravado at the Beirut rally, Arafat is clearly worried about the possibility of an Israel attack, and his gloom is clearly reflected in the PLO's scrupulously adhering to the terms of the cease-fire achieved by the U.S. last July.

The PLO insists that the truce applies only to actions across the

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Begin tells U.S. envoy: No decision on incursion

Lewis 'very reassured'

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Prime Minister Menachem Begin assured the American Ambassador last night that Israel has not decided to invade Lebanon.

After a three-hour meeting with Premier Begin, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, Ambassador Samuel Lewis emerged saying he was "very reassured."

"We had a discussion of the recent tensions and I asked the prime minister his views," Lewis continued. "And he (Begin) assured me that the Israel cabinet had taken no decision to go into Lebanon in any way, shape or form."

The meeting was held against a background of heightened tension in the North where, according to foreign reports, Israel had concentrated troops during the past several days.

The U.S. envoy's meeting with Israel's three senior ministers followed a six-hour cabinet session yesterday morning part of which was devoted to the situation in the North.

Well-placed Israel sources said after that session that Israel would "not get itself involved in a needless war."

Ambassador Lewis asserted, in response to newsmen's questions, that the Fatah terrorist incursion across the Jordan border on Friday night (see page 3) was "in our view, a violation of the cease-fire." He was referring to the cessation of hostilities between Israel and the PLO negotiated by U.S. special envoy Philip Habib last summer.

Premier Begin's spokesman, Uri Porat, stressed last night that Israel regarded such PLO actions as the Friday incursion as serious violations of the cease-fire and "the government will take what action it sees fit when it sees fit."

Our correspondent in Washington adds:

America's concern over the Lebanese tension was reinforced

with anger yesterday at early reports of the cabinet discussion of alleged breaches of the Camp David accords by Egypt.

The anger was based on first, unofficial reports of what went on in the weekly cabinet meeting in Jerusalem. But later reports, which reaffirmed Israel's acceptance of its obligation to carry out the withdrawal, contributed to reducing the irritation.

Despite the fact that it was Easter Sunday, one of the most widely observed public holidays here, U.S. officials worked throughout the day in the Middle East section of the State Department. They would not respond to reports on the cabinet meeting in Jerusalem, and restricted themselves to expressing the hope that there would be no delay in Israel's withdrawal from Sinai.

The link between the two highly sensitive issues of Lebanon and the withdrawal led to proposals here to send a high-ranking official to the area — either deputy secretary Stoesel or Haig himself when the latter completes his current mediation attempts on the Falklands crisis.

As apprehension deepened over the tensions in the region, the feeling emerged that sending special envoy Philip Habib would not be a sufficient response. Nor would today's scheduled visit by Assistant Secretary of State Nicholas Veliotis.

Yesterday's shooting incident on the Temple Mount added still further to the tension arising out of the Egyptian and Lebanese problems. The State Department issued a statement condemning the act and expressing deep regret at what it termed "a senseless act of violence" in one of Islam's holiest sites.

The statement conveyed "condolences for all those who have suffered physically and spiritually from this outrage," which, it continued, was "obviously the work of a deranged individual."

Last night, Israel Ambassador Moshe Arens returned to

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

American aid sought to end breaches by Egyptians

By DAVID LANDAU

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Israel is seeking strong diplomatic action from the U.S. to help iron out disputes and differences with Egypt before the final Sinai withdrawal date, 15 days hence. "We are fulfilling all our commitments under the peace treaty," a

U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Walter Stoesel is to leave Washington today for Cairo and Jerusalem in an effort to resolve the final snags in the Sinai pullback, our Washington correspondent reported last night.

well-placed source said last night. "And we have the right to insist that the Egyptians fulfil all of theirs." The source reflected widespread concern among Israel policymakers over what are seen here as contraventions — both political and military — of the letter and spirit of the treaty provisions.

But the well-placed source stressed that there was no "crisis" in relations with Egypt. "It is very far from that," he said.

"The key is Premier Begin — and Begin is still totally committed to the peace," one government source remarked last night.

Sharon himself was at pains to reassure his ministerial colleagues repeatedly yesterday that he, too, remains fully committed to the peace treaty and to completing the Sinai withdrawal on schedule. He himself is going to Egypt on Thursday.

The cabinet met for more than six hours yesterday morning (though it usually avoids sessions during *Hol Hamoad*). The entire session was classified as a meeting of the Ministerial Defence

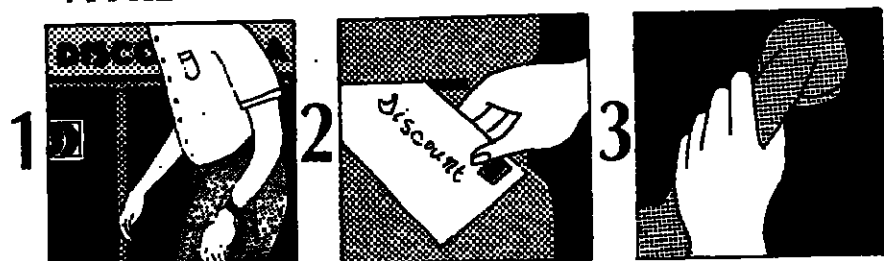
(Continued on page 2, col. 1)

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City	Temp	Wind	Clouds
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Bombay	28-30	10-15	Sunny
Brussels	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Frankfurt	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Geneva	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Hong Kong	28-30	10-15	Sunny
London	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Los Angeles	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Madrid	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Moscow	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
New York	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Oslo	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Paris	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Rio de Janeiro	28-30	10-15	Sunny
Sao Paulo	28-30	10-15	Sunny
Stockholm	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Tokyo	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Toronto	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
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City	Temp	Wind	Clouds
Jerusalem	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Golan	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Nahariya	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Safed	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Haifa Port	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Tiberias	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Nazareth	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Afula	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Shomron	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Tel Aviv	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
B-G Airport	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Jericho	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Gaza	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Bersheba	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Eilat	10-12	10-15	Cloudy

ARRIVALS

Mr. & Mrs. Eric Charles of Britain and Philip Katz of Canada for the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev's 12th Board of Governors meeting.

Independent Liberals to join Alignment

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Alignment and the Independent Liberal Party yesterday reached a draft agreement whereby the ILP would enter the Alignment as its fourth and smallest faction.

The agreement is yet to be ratified by the appropriate bodies in the two parties.

In addition, many of the details have still to be worked out. Foremost and thorniest among them is how many ILP representatives would be worked into the next Alignment Knesset slate of candidates, and in which places. This and other sticky questions are to be taken up soon.

It appears that an ILP representative would be co-opted to the executive of the Alignment Knesset faction.

The ILP, which in the Ninth Knesset was represented by a lone MK, failed to win a single seat in the elections to the current Knesset.

(Continued from Page 1)

Committee, whose deliberations are secret by law.

In the afternoon Premier Begin, Defence Minister Sharon and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir met for a working supper with Ambassador Samuel Lewis during which they listed "all of Israel's political and military concerns and complaints," according to an Israel source.

But Israel also has complaints of a military nature against Egypt. Israel sources say the Egyptians have "ignored" Israel's strictures on this subject during recent weeks, and this naturally, has gravely worried Israel with only a fortnight to

HOME & WORLD NEWS

IDF steps up its watch over entire Yamit area

By MOTTI BEN-YANAI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

YAMIT. — The IDF has intensified its watch on the approach roads to this technically evacuated town and is now enforcing a near siege, after another 400 opponents of the Sinai withdrawal arrived here Saturday night.

From 8 a.m. yesterday soldiers reinforced the main checkpoints at Kerem Shalom and the Erez junction and set up additional roadblocks on smaller roads in the Yamit area. They also strengthened guard posts at the entrances to the town and surrounding it. Local vehicles leaving the area without a special permit are no longer allowed back.

Residents of Atzmona, who have permission to stay in their homes until April 15, were nonplussed yesterday to discover the necessary permits had been changed without their knowledge. There were angry scenes at the Kerem Shalom roadblock and the Atzmona people had to go back to Kerem Shalom to take out new licences, after proving that they were indeed from Atzmona. The queue at the roadblock during the alterations was backed up some 2-3 kilometres yesterday morning.

IDF tractors and bulldozers yesterday began uprooting trees and ploughing under fields of crops at Moshav Sadot, as part of the withdrawal process.

Some opponents of the withdrawal sat down in the tractor's

paths in protest. They were removed without real resistance by a detachment of soldiers responsible for guarding the equipment.

At Prigan all except three prefabricated houses were dismantled, in which three moshav families who oppose the withdrawal are still living. At Netiv Ha'assara there are also three moshav families who have refused to leave.

In Yamit groups of soldiers yesterday morning began to take down electricity pylons and streetlights.

Members of the anti-withdrawal movement are for the first time feeling the crunch of restricted basic services such as electricity and water, and many of them are leaving. At the same time, there is a steady stream of anti-withdrawal resisters coming into the town, and the numbers of those departing apparently balance the new arrivals.

A march organized by the anti-withdrawal movement is scheduled today along part of the new border fence. The organizers expect "many thousands" to participate and say some will try to reenter the Yamit region.

During the past few days, Beduin have been arriving with their possessions in the Rafiah area, the agriculturally developed parts of which were out of bounds to them from 1972, when the area was fenced off. The notorious fence, cause of violent demonstrations between left- and right-wing Israelis when it was set up, has now been taken down.

Gov't and Labour exchange sallies on war scare

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Government and opposition once again traded verbal blows yesterday, with the prime minister's spokesman accusing the Alignment of fomenting a war psychosis and electioneering at the same time. Labour urged the government to heed what it called its expert criticism.

The latest exchange was sparked off by the prime minister's office reaction to warnings by leading Alignment figures over the weekend against launching a military operation across the Lebanese border.

Premier Menachem Begin's personal spokesman, Uri Porath, charged that this is "yet further evidence of their lack of national responsibility. Most of what was said is basically political propaganda, election campaign-style, and it ignores the fact that the issue involves national interests of the highest priority. The Labour leaders have seen fit to talk even when they don't have all the facts at their disposal, thus creating an artificial war psychosis which can serve no one other than the PLO."

Labour's reply was not long in coming. The party's responses team argued that Begin and his aides would do better "not to demagogically and sarcastically dismiss the opposition's stand on critical issues, as if the government knew everything while the opposi-

tion lacked the necessary data."

The Labour team went on to declare that its members include "people with experience and extensive knowledge in foreign affairs and defence" and the government would therefore do best "to listen to the responsible voices of the opposition, which includes top diplomats and military experts." The team added that "this government is constantly deteriorating and is ensnaring Israel in the most serious confrontations."

Meanwhile Alignment MK Shulamit Aloni of the Citizens Rights movement sent Begin a telegram co-signed by 14 other women, all of whom claim to have sons in the army. They demanded that the government "not send their sons to an 'unnecessary war'." This brought a swift response from National Religious Party hawk Rabbi Haim Druckman who noted that he has a son in military service who is stationed in the north and yet he "calls on the prime minister to attack the terrorists in Lebanon so that they will be unable to slaughter innocent Israelis as they have been doing."

The United Kibbutz Movement, which is affiliated with the Labour Party, yesterday called on Begin to "exercise restraint" in regard to the situation in the North. The movement decided to maintain close touch with its member kibbutzim in the Lebanese frontier area.

U.S. AID SOUGHT

go till the final pullback.

Government sources listed some other Israeli "causes of concern" regarding Egypt:

- Egypt's stand at the nonaligned conference in Kuwait last week. While Egypt successfully opposed a PLO move to have the whole peace process with Israel condemned outright, the Egyptian delegate, Ismet Abdel-Meguid, veered far from Camp David, in Israel's view, when he set out a proposal for Palestinian self-determination and mutual, simultaneous recognition by the PLO and Israel. "If he had at least

said this was Israel's recipe for after the autonomy period," an Israeli government source observed last night, "that would have been more or less in line with longstanding Egyptian policy. But he totally ignored the whole autonomy scheme as set out in Camp David."

• Ties between Cairo and the PLO, which, according to Israeli sources, are growing markedly closer of late. One source here spoke of "actual cooperation."

• The still-unresolved border dispute over Taba beach, near Eilat, and fourteen other points along the Negev-Sinai border. There is little doubt now that the Taba dispute will eventually be submitted to third-party agreed arbitration, but Israel and Egypt must still agree on provisions for the Taba area — with its large Israeli hotel nearing completion — in the interim.

Defence Minister Sharon is to fly to Cairo on Thursday to take up the Taba problem and the other outstanding issues with Deputy Premier Kamal Hassan Ali.

And meanwhile Premier Begin, together with Sharon and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, will air them all again today at meetings with visiting Assistant Secretary of State Nicholas Veliotis. Veliotis was due here from Cairo last night.

In Tel Aviv yesterday Egyptian ambassador Sa'ad Mortada said he had not been told of any particular Israeli complaints regarding the military arrangements in Sinai. "Nothing serious has been reported to us (by the U.S. monitoring units)," Mortada added.

He attributed the reported complaints from Jerusalem to natural nervousness prior to the April 26 handover deadline and said he was fully confident Israel would meet the deadline. "Mr. Begin is a man of his word."

Kibbutz pesticide kills hundreds of birds

Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIRYAT SHMONA. — Nature Reserves Authority staff members spent the weekend searching for hundreds of dead and dying birds who were poisoned after a Galilee kibbutz sprayed its fields with pesticides.



A Moslem clergyman tries to calm an angry crowd in front of the Dome of the Rock after yesterday's shooting incident on the Temple Mount. (Rahamim Israeli)

TWO KILLED ON TEMPLE MOUNT

(Continued from Page 1)

where Mohammed ascended to heaven. Goodman surrendered quietly. "He spoke only English," said Caspi afterwards. "When I asked why he had done it, he said, 'they kill Jews every day. I had to do it.'"

Meanwhile, muzzins on the Temple Mount and in nearby villages were sounding the alarm to the Moslem population, calling on them to speed to the Temple Mount. "They are destroying the mosques," cried the muzzin on the Temple Mount. Arabs began to pour through the gates in great numbers, many of them carrying staves.

With the inflamed crowd shouting outside the west entrance to the Dome of the Rock, Caspi and his fellow officers opened a door on the south side of the shrine. Pushing Goodman ahead of them, they dashed for the Moghrabi Gate on the southwest corner of the mount, the one gate controlled by Israelis.

The crowd broke after them, some of its members brandishing knives. According to an Israeli eyewitness, it seemed that the police and their prisoner would be engulfed by the mob, which was shouting "Allah Akbar" (God is great). But they managed to reach the area of the gate where waiting police with drawn guns formed a cordon. Goodman was hustled down the ramp to the Western Wall plaza and taken to police headquarters in the Russian Compound for questioning. Police meanwhile cut the wires to Al-Aksha's loudspeakers.

Police declined yesterday to release information about Goodman while the investigation was under way, but according to one report Goodman was undergoing a short basic training course for immigrants in an IDF base.

In yesterday's confused events, it was impossible to determine immediately who had fatally shot the second Arab victim, Jihad Bader, about 18. According to some Arabs, Bader was shot by Jewish civilians who entered through Moghrabi



Sonia Zelster, a tourist from Germany, was hit by rocks thrown by an angry crowd as she was visiting near the Inter-Continental Hotel atop the Mount of Olives yesterday. (Rahamim Israeli)

Gate more than an hour after the initial shooting. According to this version, three Jews wearing kippot entered the mount after telling the guard they were journalists. Confronted by a rock-throwing mob, the three allegedly pulled weapons. Two of them retreated but the third allegedly fired, hitting Bader. There was no confirmation of this from Israeli sources. Jerusalem police commander Tat-Nitzah Rahamim Comfort said last night that the police assumed Goodman shot Bader but were not certain.

For more than two hours, Arab youths demonstrated on the Temple Mount, shouting "Palestine is Arab" and similar chants. A small force of police, mustered outside the Temple Mount police station, did not attempt to intervene even when demonstrators began waving Palestinian flags less than 30 metres from them. But the demonstration grew louder and shortly after noon rocks began flying. At this point, the police fired volleys of shots into the air and dispersed the crowd with tear gas.

Ulpian teachers saw Goodman as 'crazy' and 'bellicose'

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH and JEFFREY HELLER
Jerusalem Post Reporters

The woman who taught Hebrew to the gunman who apparently stormed the Dome of the Rock recalled him yesterday as a "sick man who came to Israel to find himself."

"I was not surprised to find out he was the one who attacked the mosque," said Victoria Litvak, who taught Alan Goodman at the Etzion ulpian in 1978. "He got into fights with all the students — especially the female ones."

"He was a very crazy man," she said.

The director of the Etzion Ulpian in Jerusalem, Genia Gilat, told The

Jerusalem Post last night that Goodman had been forced to leave the institute in 1978 after two months because he had beaten up an Arab kitchen employee.

Mrs. Ginat said that Goodman had described himself as a businessman. She said he had spent some time in Scandinavia and was apparently bitter at having been jilted by a Scandinavian girl friend. The ulpian director described him as a very poor student whose "strangeness" had remained in her memory.

According to various reports, Goodman had arrived in Israel for the first time in August 1977 and had since then left the country a number of times, worked at various kibbutzim and studied at a yeshiva.

LEWIS REASSURED

(Continued from Page 1)

Washington from Israel. During the past few days, nearly all the senior officials in the Israel Embassy have been on holiday, some of them out of town. Embassy Minister Ya'acov Nehushtan has been holding the fort.

State Department officials said that decisions would be taken today on the nature of continued American involvement in the current Middle East situation. They were anticipating reports from

Veliotis on his meetings in Jerusalem to supply them with more detailed information on what took place in the cabinet meeting in Jerusalem yesterday.

The officials were also waiting for the return of Haig, from London. One of the questions State Department experts were looking for answers to was the degree to which Defence Minister Ariel Sharon contributed to the stubborn Israeli position on the withdrawal which appeared in unofficial reports on the cabinet meeting.

Dead Sea march to 'save the desert'

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

"Save the Judean Desert!" was the theme of a mass rally yesterday on the Ein Gedi coast and of a 13-kilometre Dead Sea march from Mizpeh Shalem to Ein Gedi, both organized by the Nature Protection Society.

The society is concerned over plans of the Tourism Ministry and the Tamar regional council which call for the building of 20 tourist hotels in the Ein Gedi area, in addition to living quarters for the hotels' employees and the necessary infrastructure.

Prof. Zeev Vilnay, the "dean of Israeli guides," told the rally that, although the Master of the Universe did not bestow oil on Israel, He did give it magnificent scenery. But

now the planners wanted to sacrifice that irreplaceable gift with "hotels, roads and tourists."

Prof. Menashe Harel (Geography, Tel Aviv University) stressed the historical associations of this "Judean desert," which contained no Canaanite sites and had not been settled by anybody other than Jews, "including the 19 years when it was under the jurisdiction of King Hussein."

The society is concerned about the effect of development plans on a number of rare animals and birds, for whom the Judean Desert has been a last haven, after their extinction in neighbouring countries.

MERIDOR

(Continued from Page 1)

impersonating an army officer. "I was so impressed that I did something I never do," Shatz said. "I allowed him in February 1981 to study my book on the invention. After one day, Berman agreed to enter into partnership with me and two other people."

An agreement was prepared to form an Israeli company to be called "Israel General Energy and Electric Company, Ltd." Even though the agreement was revised several times over the past year, Berman refused to sign. According to the agreement, Berman would have been president of the company and have 40 per cent of the shares, Shatz said.

According to Shatz, Berman always came up with different excuses. One of the most frequent was that he had been called up for reserve duty. Once he said he had been injured and shrapnel had to be extracted from his body.

Despite all this, Shatz says, he still had complete trust in Berman and on June 3, 1981, he sent him by air freight the prototype of his invention, which had already worked in California.

All during the past year Shatz knew nothing about Meridor and his invention. "Only after Meridor's prototype was shown on Israel Television was I informed through friends who had seen it that they must be talking about my invention."

"Berman called me on the phone on March 18 this year. He was screaming that I should not believe anyone who says that he (Berman) has betrayed me. He added that there is much conflict in Israel regarding this invention, which Berman claimed was not like mine — that my invention is far superior. He told me a number of times not to talk with the press or electronic media. He also promised to sign a contract with me soon."

Shatz is bitter about what has happened here so far with his invention, but says he is still willing to have the device developed here, both because of the prestige for Israel and the possibility that it could create many jobs for Israelis.

He demands only that he receive his prototype unit back from Meridor and company and that he be allowed to meet with the proper officials to sign an agreement to produce the device in Israel.

When contacted last night, Berman denied Shatz's version of the facts, calling them simply "incorrect" and calling Shatz's invention "worthless."

However, Shatz played for this reporter a recording of his phone conversation with Berman last month; when Berman called him, California to plead for his silence over the invention. On that tape, Berman clearly says to Shatz, "You mustn't talk to the press or to Meridor..."

Berman also claims he never received the entire prototype of Shatz's device, but only parts. Shatz says his entire device is still here.

Perhaps the most significant claim of Berman, if true, is his insistence that Meridor knew about Shatz and his invention "from the very beginning."

ARAFAT

(Continued from Page 1)

Lebanese border, while Israel's position is that it applies to any terrorist act against an Israeli target anywhere.

Thus, the PLO was quick to deny any involvement in the Bar-Simantov murder, and has officially dissociated itself from other recent incidents which Israel holds to be in breach of the cease-fire — including Friday's incursion from Jordan (see page 3).

Arafat is also reported to have stepped up diplomatic efforts to avoid a showdown in South Lebanon, urging both Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to use their influence with Washington to get it to bring pressure to bear on Israel.

The PLO has been warning of an "imminent Israeli attack" on its bases in South Lebanon for more than two months, suggesting that Israel was seeking a PLO infringement of the cease-fire as a "pretext" to invade Lebanon and settle accounts with the organization before it completes its withdrawal from Sinai later this month.

These warnings became increasingly shrill after Israel held the PLO responsible for last week's murder of diplomat Ya'acov Bar-Simantov in Paris, evidently fearing that this would be the "pretext" for the impending attack.

At the end of last week, Arafat was reported to have put his men in South Lebanon on high alert.

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The Family

Warehouse set alight in dairy plant dispute

By JEFFREY HELLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

RAMAT GAN. — A dispute between management and deliverymen at the United Dairies plant here erupted in flames yesterday when deliverymen set a milk warehouse ablaze and ransacked company offices.

About 30 deliverymen stormed the plant at 11 a.m. and rampaged through the white, three-story office building opposite the diamond exchange, overturning desks and destroying equipment, police said.

They then set fire to the warehouse, which contained glass bottles of sterilized milk. The heat of the flames, which burned through the corrugated tin walls of the warehouse, also melted dozens of red plastic cartons and thousands of sour cream cups in the courtyard.

Police forced open gates locked by the deliverymen and cleared a path for fire engines through piles of wood and plastic milk crates placed in the plant's courtyard. Seven fire engines arrived at the scene to put out the blaze which was still smoldering five hours after it was extinguished.

The plant is to be closed. Twenty-one deliverymen were arrested, and the company estimated the damage at millions of shekels.

The plant, which was sold to Tnuva by the family of former finance minister MK Yigael Hurvitz some time ago, is to be closed April 30, and the marketing of the Tnuva Noga products it prepares will be transferred to Tnuva. Some 100 deliverymen have received dismissal notices. But, the company said, they will be offered alternative routes with Tnuva.

Falasha backers to ask for Italian intercession

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Activists on behalf of the Falashas are planning to contact the Italian Communist Party, in an effort to influence the Ethiopian government to ameliorate the plight of the Ethiopian Jews and allow them to leave.

In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*, Rabbi Yosef Hadani, chief rabbi of the Falashas in Israel, and Dr. Michael Corinaldi, a Jerusalem advocate who is chairman of the Public Council for Ethiopian Jewry, said that a delegation would soon be going to Italy and France. In Italy, the delegation would contact both the main parties of the left, the

socialists and communists, and the government.

Hadani said that the situation of the Jews in Ethiopia is worsening. The O.R.T. schools have been closed and Jews are not allowed to go from village to village without a special permit.

As for those Falashas in Israel, they are being looked after materially, but suffer from spiritual isolation. He is their sole spiritual adviser and they have no other teachers. Nor, he added, is there any contact between the Falashas and the general public.

Those who would like to help the Falashas in Israel may contact Dr. Corinaldi at 02-631378 or Rabbi Hadani at 03-338639.

Memorial planned for secret agents

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — About 300 persons who gave their lives in intelligence work for Israel will be memorialized at a site near the Country Club at Ramat Aviv, in north Tel Aviv.

Meir Amit, chairman of the Association to Memorialize Intelligence Community Casualties, told the press yesterday that the lack of such a memorial until now has not been accidental.

"The tendency has been to keep these people's identities secret in death as they were in life, and it seemed that to do otherwise might even go against the spirit of what they stood for and did," he said. "On the other hand, we have a sacred obligation to them and to their families, and we also believe there is an educational purpose to be served in making these people, insofar as information about them can be revealed, an example for our youth."

Architects and landscape architects have been invited to suggest plans for the site, which must be submitted by the end of this

month. The judging will be done in May and the chosen plan will be exhibited on or before June 6, Memorial Day for the dead of the intelligence community. Architect Abraham Yasky, who heads the panel of judges, said: "We left the architects as much freedom as possible, but we indicated that we want an open meeting area for about a thousand persons (for memorial services and other large functions), closed rooms which can be used for lectures, a library and other educational functions and some sort of memorial."

Meir Amit said that about two-thirds of the approximately 300 casualties were with the Army Intelligence Corps and the rest were with the various civilian services. He estimated that there are around a dozen whose remains have not been brought back to Israel. There are a few cases, he said, in which they died without revealing that they were Jewish. He said he hopes it will be possible to memorialize most of the fallen by name, but that there are isolated cases in which it may not be possible to mention names for security reasons.



Arms and explosives found on the two Fatah terrorists trapped by the IDF in the Jordan valley late on Friday night. (Zoom 77)

Two terrorists caught after crossing Jordan

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Two Fatah members who tried to sneak into Israel with a large quantity of explosives were captured by IDF reservists and helicopter-borne paratroopers shortly after they forded the Jordan River late Friday night, the IDF spokesman announced yesterday.

Military sources said the two were trained in Lebanon and the incident constituted yet another violation of the "spirit of the cease-fire" with the terrorists worked out last July.

But in what may have been a bid to avoid a further increase in the tension along the Lebanese border, the IDF refrained from highlighting the incident as it did last January when three terrorists infiltrated near Meholah. At that time, an urgent press conference was called by Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Raphael Eitan.

Reports about the operation were withheld from Friday night until yesterday morning because the terrorists were being interrogated and the authorities clearly wanted "time" to act upon the findings. But no details of such action were revealed yesterday.

The IDF spokesman's announcement did not say how the terrorists had reached Jordan. But a military source said they must have crossed the border from Syria with Damascus' consent. "Today you can't cross the Syrian border without its army's consent," an IDF source said here last night.

But the military sources did not blame Jordan for the attempted infiltration, noting that the Jordanian army has been conducting patrols to

prevent incursions — and has in fact stopped several squads of would-be marauders.

One of the officers who commanded the IDF operation said the two terrorists, who are about 20 years old, crossed the river northeast of Argaman at about 11 p.m. on Friday. A military patrol spotted them, opened fire and called for reinforcements.

The terrorists had managed to cross the main Jericho-Beit She'an road before contact was established, the officer said. The troops ordered them to surrender and when the order was ignored, opened heavy fire. The calls and the firing were repeated several times until one of the marauders rose and in the moonlit night, the IDF soldiers saw him raise his hands.

While the troops provided cover, the terrorist gave himself up. The second terrorist tried to escape by outflanking the soldiers from the south. He crossed the asphalt road towards the east but the soldiers closed in on him, too, and caught him.

The officers said the two could have caused considerable damage had they succeeded in entering Israel. In addition to their Kalashnikovs and ammunition, they carried an impressive load of 18 Soviet-made hand grenades, 15 demolition slabs and an equal number of electric detonators, six boxes of explosives and a ready-to-use two-kilogram explosive device.

Friday night's pursuit in the difficult terrain cut by wadis was nevertheless easier than the January 30 operation, the officers said.

Northern residents clean up shelters

KIRYAT SHMONA. — Residents of Upper Galilee, went to work over the weekend cleaning out and provisioning their shelters.

Preparation of the shelters for a possible emergency got under way on the residents' own initiative. The IDF had issued no orders about taking such a step and did not offer any assistance.

Upper Galilee regional council chairman Avraham Broshi said yesterday that the authorities had taken all necessary steps to ensure the residents' safety.

But, Broshi noted, many of the steps recommended last summer to increase security in the area had not yet been implemented.

The atmosphere in Kiryat Shmona was tense over the weekend. A number of families sent their children to friends and relatives in the centre of the country, and other families used the Pessah holiday to travel south.

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Israel week in Cairo put off because of official coolness

Jerusalem Post Reporter

An Israel Week due to be held at the Cairo Hilton next month has been postponed until September, *The Jerusalem Post* learned yesterday.

According to reliable sources, the delay in holding the Israel Week results from a lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Egyptian government. In the face of official coolness, the Cairo Hilton also began to drag its feet. The fate of an Egyptian Week, planned for the Tel Aviv Hilton in June, is now uncertain.

The head of the Israel Government Tourist Office in Cairo, Morris Cassouto, admitted that it was lack of cooperation from the Egyptians that had forced the delay in the event, but he stressed that he personally had seen no change in government or tourism industry attitudes toward Israel. Though he is still unsatisfied with the slow progress of tourism from Egypt to Israel, he felt that on the whole the attitudes were positive.

On the other hand, when faced

with total lack of cooperation, the tourist office could not on its own make all the arrangements necessary for the opening of the Israel Week. "We thought we would get help from all the factors," Cassouto said.

In a related development, the Egyptians have raised the minimum currency which must be changed by tourists entering Egypt from 100 Egyptian pounds (about \$100) to \$150. Although this regulation would hold for Israelis visiting Sinai, children under 12 and visitors for less than 48 hours would be excepted, according to tourism ministry sources in Jerusalem. The Egyptians are also reported to be willing to issue visas immediately at the border crossing south of Eilat.

According to Cassouto, the Egyptians have also expressed their willingness to allow campers to sleep out along the Sinai coastline. However, he stressed that Egyptian laws and standards of morality would be enforced.

"There won't be any nude sunbathing at Nuiba," he said.

Prof. Leibowitz: Science involves truth, not ethics

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Scientists have no responsibility for what may be done with their discoveries, Professor Yeshayahu Leibowitz said here yesterday at the opening session of the Israeli Philosophical Society's annual convention. The two-day conference, at the Technion, is on Philosophy, Science and Technology.

Earlier, the dean of the Technion's physics faculty, Professor Arnon Dar, had argued that scientists were today faced with great moral and ethical dilemmas, imposing upon them a heavy burden of responsibility. This resulted from the remarkable advances of science in this century which for the first time enabled scientists to "actively interfere in creation," by splitting the atom and breaking the genetic code, Dar said.

Leibowitz, who is a biochemist, held that "seeking truth" does not make scientists ethical or impose responsibilities on them. He held that they work with truth as their raw material in the same way as a carpenter works with wood. If a scientist were to deny that two and two make four, he would simply fail to achieve anything, just as a carpenter would break his tools trying

ing to work on metal, Leibowitz said. Scientists could not be expected to be more or less ethical than any other group of people, he argued.

Scientists strive for conclusions which are objective and not influenced by moral considerations, Leibowitz said. It is the politicians who must make decisions — and though there is no purely national reason for their decisions to be influenced by morals, one must hope they would base them on moral and ethical considerations, he said.

Following the opening session, the 200 participants adjourned to discussion groups on related topics.

600 protest Pessah sale of falafel in Haifa

HAIFA. — The city's two chief rabbis, Shear-Yashuv Cohen and Eliahu Bakshi-Doron yesterday evening headed a demonstration of some 600 persons against the sale of falafel by Jewish stallholders during Pessah at the "falafel corner" at Hehalutz and Hanevi'im streets. After the demonstration (which was licensed by police) a number of youths continued to mill around, and two were arrested.

Most of the stallholders closed down during the demonstration.

Affidavit from U.S. sought in trial

Jerusalem Post Staff

The prosecution in the trial of accused terrorist bomber Ziad Abu Eian has requested the Tel Aviv District Court to seek testimony from Eian's former cellmate, a convict in a Chicago prison.

Eian, 22, a former resident of El-Bireh, was extradited from the U.S. last December to face trial on charges of planting a bomb in Tiberias in 1979. Two teenagers were killed in the blast and 36 persons wounded.

During the nearly two-and-a-half years it took to extradite him, Eian was incarcerated in the Chicago County Jail, where the prosecution contends he revealed details of the bombing to cellmate Jerome Redick.

Redick, now serving a nine-year sentence for armed robbery, has since told agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation about his conversations with Eian, including documents Eian supposedly left with him.

Eian denies having the conversations with Redick.

The state has asked the district court to request a sworn affidavit from Redick via an American court.

This is the first time such a legal problem has come up in an Israeli court, according to the Ministry of Justice. After hearing the matter all yesterday morning, the court announced it would give its decision soon on whether to seek the requested affidavit.

Keren Hayesod ex-chief, Ussoskin

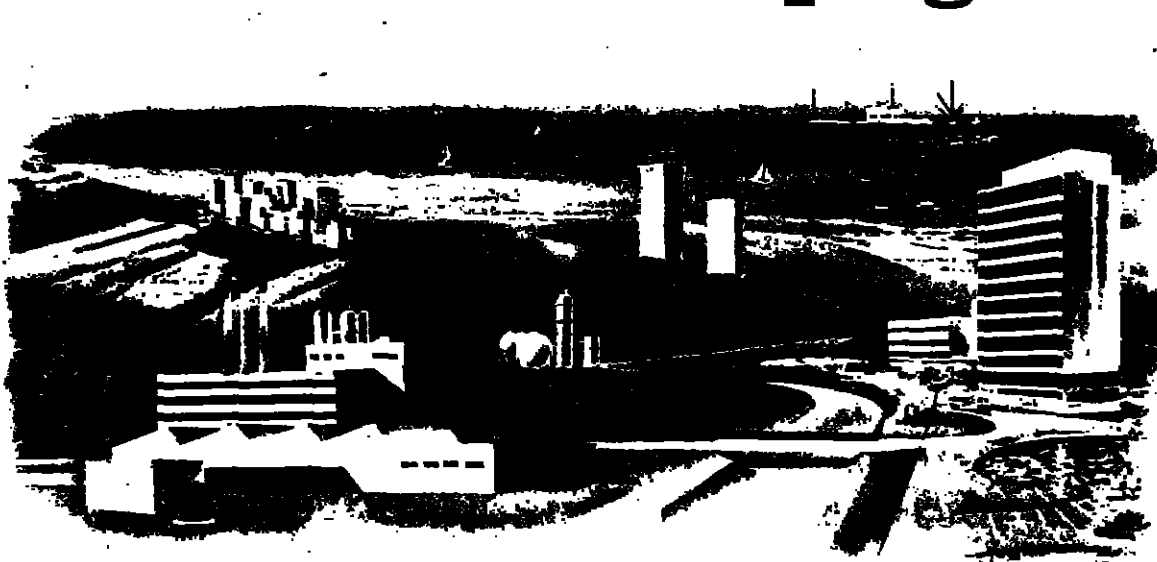
Moshe Mordechai (Mark) Ussoskin, former director-general of Keren Hayesod, died in Jerusalem on Saturday, aged 83. The funeral cortege is to leave from the courtyard of the National Institutions for Sanehedria Cemetery at 10 o'clock this morning.

Ussoskin was born in Moghilev Podolsk on March 8, 1899, and was active in the Zionist movement in Bessarabia. He headed the Jewish Cooperative Bank in Rumania and the JDC and American Reconstruction Fund for the Balkan countries, Hungary and Turkey.

He arrived in this country in 1941. He was a member of the Cooperative Centre and Migdal Insurance Co. From 1949 until his retirement in 1968 he was director-general and treasurer of the United Jewish Appeal-Keren Hayesod.

Ussoskin wrote books and articles on the cooperative movement and economics. He is survived by his wife Miriam, daughter and grandchildren. (A.Z.)

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Along With The Trumpets, Hidden Doubts And Big Risks

By R. WAPPLE JR.

WHEN Britain seized the Falkland Islands 149 years ago, it needed only a single sloop. Captain J. J. Onslow of the *Cho* sailed into the South Atlantic, sent a polite but firm message to Captain J. M. Plazola of the schooner *Sarmadi*, hauled down the Argentine flag and ran up the Union Jack.

It will not be that easy this time. Argentina's capture of the Falklands has brought the two nations to the brink of war, caused the resignation of Britain's most respected foreign secretary since World War II, generated turmoil in the international banking community and involved the United States as a peace-maker. It has so deeply shaken Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government, President Reagan's surest ally in Europe, that some politicians doubt it will survive.

Under Labor as well as Conservative governments, Britain has tried to get rid of the islands for years. This nation has long since ceased to have colonial pretensions, and possession of the Falklands brings no great benefit. Although there has been a lot of talk about oil, there has been no rush toward exploration, and the only real money-makers on the islands are 600,000 sheep. Even with the wool trade, the Falklands last year imported more than they exported, and the local government ran a deficit.

The population, moreover, has been declining steadily and may soon be too small to keep the economy alive. The islands' strategic value vanished when British ships began using the Panama Canal instead of the storm-tossed route around Cape Horn. Even worse from London's viewpoint, the Falklands are all but indefensible against irredentist Argentina, barely 400 miles away.

Yet generations of diplomats have failed to unload the islands precisely because they could not survive as an independent state, because postwar British politicians have made a big thing of respecting the wishes of local populations, especially those of British stock, and because the Falklanders have furiously opposed any link with Argentina. They call Argentines "Argies"—a kind of jocular-synonym for "wogs"—and dislike their language, politics, mores and even their food. A recent visitor expressed astonishment at the islanders' preference for tinned beans and peaches, second-rate British beer and local mutton over Argentine steaks, wine and fresh produce.

So the search for a way to cast off the colony, one of the British lion's last cubs, has marked time while the British military presence there withered because of spending cuts at home. When the crunch finally came 10 days ago, there were only 80 Royal Marines on the islands and the Antarctic support ship, the *R. M. S. Endurance*, patrolling nearby. As a deterrent, it was pure bluff.

Former Prime Minister James Callaghan, who faced down a similar Argentine threat a few years ago by sending a small flotilla to wait over the horizon while negotiations took place, said in the House of Commons last week that Mrs. Thatcher had asked for trouble. The Argentine junta, he said, had taken as a clear sign of irresolution Britain's decision early this year to sell the *Endurance* as part of a further spending cut prompted by its decision to buy Trident missiles (a decision Mr. Callaghan opposed). He argued that the junta was confirmed in its initial judgment when the Thatcher Government took no action to evict Argentine scrap merchants who landed illegally on



British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher; Argentine leader Lieut. Gen. Leopoldo F. Galtieri (inset).

South Georgia, a Falklands dependency, on March 23.

It failed to do so, and failed to move promptly to protect the Falklands, because it misinterpreted the signals coming out of Buenos Aires. Sometime on March 26, 27 or 28, the British Embassy in Argentina told the Foreign Office of an Argentine invasion plan. An official in the embassy later said bitterly: "They chose to ignore it entirely. It was a complete error of judgment on London's part."

On the Monday before the invasion, the embassy learned of the existence of what turned out to be the invasion fleet. Lord Carrington, the cool, patrician Foreign Secretary, weighed the evidence, discussed it with Mrs. Thatcher and decided it was no more worrisome than past false alarms. It would be wiser, he concluded, to proceed

with his visit to Israel and not risk alienating the hyper-sensitive Begin Government. By the time he returned late Thursday, the Argentine fleet was nearing its target. Barely 72 hours later, he had resigned, accepting responsibility for what he called the "humiliating affair."

The resignation took a little of the heat off Mrs. Thatcher. Had she persuaded Lord Carrington not to quit, she would almost certainly have had to ask for other resignations to appease the furious Tory backbenchers. She, better than anyone, knows how quickly and ruthlessly the Conservative Party rids itself of leaders who have failed; she took over the leadership in just such circumstances.

In succeeding days, the Prime Minister won the support of the country and the main political parties when,

after sending off a 28-ship armada to the islands, she threatened to sink any Argentine ship that came within 200 miles of the Falklands and made it abundantly clear to Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. that she was not interested in negotiating until all the Argentine troops had been withdrawn. But she has also painted herself into a corner. Unless she can reach a settlement acceptable to the Falklanders and to an aroused British public, or win a famous military victory, she may still have to go.

Francis Pym, who replaced Lord Carrington, told the nation and the world at the opening of last week's Commons debate that "Britain does not appease dictators." Later, one somewhat disillusioned Tory backbencher said he was "looking for evidence that Margaret means what Frankie Pym says." Another went so far as to say that "we will have to sink at least one Argentine vessel if Mrs. Thatcher is to survive." The Prime Minister—who has never tired of portraying herself as a superpatriot and the "Iron Lady" of modern British politics—is vulnerable because the crisis has touched old wounds in a national psyche that has suffered, in four decades, the loss of an empire, the decay of an economy and a painful adjustment to second-class status in the world. That psyche also bears the scars of Munich and appeasement. So it was therapeutic for many Britons to hear John Silkin, a senior Labor politician, describe the Argentine leader, Lieut. Gen. Leopoldo F. Galtieri, as "a tinpot fascist dictator." And it was exhilarating for others to see the vanguard of the battle fleet sail out of Portsmouth, sailors drawn up at attention on carrier flight decks.

Should Britain suffer even a temporary military setback, second thoughts will surely set in. Peter Jenkins, the liberal columnist of the *Guardian*, has them already. He asked, "by what gigantic lack of proportion was the loss of the Falkland Islands to be seen as a major national humiliation; by what weird calculus was it reckoned that the fate of all free peoples might hinge upon the fate of those 1,800 distant islanders and their 600,000 sheep?"

But for the moment, other voices speak more clearly for the national mood—voices like *The Times*, which has compared the Falklands crisis to that in Poland in 1939, invoked John Donne to remind its readers that the bell was tolling for them and even harked back to the speech of Queen Elizabeth I on the eve of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Overblown as the analogies might seem to outsiders, and to some Britons, they stirred the majority as the hours ticked by until the blockade took effect. (More on the Falklands crisis, page 2.)

Some Scenarios for Falkland Islands Crisis

WASHINGTON—As a British fleet headed toward the Falkland Islands, diplomatic and military scenarios for resolving the crisis proliferated.

The British said their only precondition for avoiding a military clash was that Argentina agree to withdraw its forces from the islands. Argentina demanded that Britain recognize their sovereignty over the islands.

The Americans, who have become the only intermediary of consequence, said the United Nations Security Council resolution passed last weekend should be put into practice. That calls for withdrawal of the Argentine forces and a diplomatic solution to the disputed claims.

A possible approach would be for Argentina to withdraw, with assurances that Britain would negotiate seriously a formula under which sovereignty could be transferred. Washington, to avoid embarrassing either London or Buenos Aires, could issue a proposal along these lines, setting out a timetable for troops to leave and talks to begin. To further smooth the way for the Argentines, a token United Nations presence could be established on the islands, pending resolution of the dispute.

Suggested ways of resolving the sovereignty question include the Hong Kong and the New Hebrides models. In Hong Kong, Britain recognizes Chinese sovereignty but has a long-standing lease for administering the crown colony. In the New Hebrides, sovereignty is shared by Britain and France. This model has special attractions in

the case of the Falkland Islands, which are said to be potentially rich in oil and gas reserves; Britain and Argentina could share the wealth.

A key obstacle to these approaches is that they do not provide self-determination for the 1,800 largely British inhabitants of the islands. More than a year ago, Britain floated the Hong Kong scenario and the Argentines appeared interested. But the islanders opposed it, insisting on British sovereignty. Last week, Argentine officials said a Hong Kong style formula was out.

If no diplomatic solution is forthcoming, Britain has announced that, as of 11:01 P.M. today New York time, its ships will fire upon any Argentine vessel remaining within a 200-mile radius of the Falklands. This could be followed by a blockade of the Argentine mainland.

Observers in Argentina suggested that, among other military options, the British might seize other islands in the archipelago and use them as bargaining chips to resolve the Falklands impasse. Sources in London said the British might take South Georgia island to create a staging base for reclaiming the Falklands.

In the event of a full-scale naval battle, Britain will presumably try to position the fighting as far as possible from the mainland to limit Argentine use of land-based aircraft. A final, and perhaps the most unlikely option, is that Argentine forces dig in and the British storm the beach. —BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Major News

In Summary

Nuclear Policy Debate Takes Another Turn

Proposals for a United States-Soviet nuclear weapons freeze, now or later, were temporarily shelved last week as Congress departed for Easter recess. But four former senior officials launched a new round in the national nuclear debate, contending that the keystone of American defense policy in Europe had become dangerously obsolete.

In a *Foreign Affairs* magazine article, they called for eventual reversal of the doctrine of flexible response to halt an overwhelming Soviet conventional attack, a doctrine which has always implied that United States might be the first to use nuclear weapons. "Deterrence," they said, "cannot be safely based forever on a doctrine which more and more looks to the people of the alliance like either a bluff or a suicide pact."

The four were Robert S. McNamara, former Defense Secretary, and McGeorge Bundy, national security adviser, in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations; George F. Kennan, former Ambassador to Moscow, and Gerard C. Smith, chief strategic arms control negotiator in the Nixon

Administration. In the 1960's, Messrs. McNamara and Bundy launched the flexible response doctrine. But the subsequent "fantastic proliferation" of Soviet and NATO weapons has revolutionized defense realities, they now say. Even tactical nuclear weapons, with a range ostensibly short of Soviet territory, would "spark full-scale nuclear war," Mr. McNamara told a news conference, adding, "I never met anyone who believed nuclear war could be limited."

Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr., tipped off about the article, hastened to pre-empt the offensive the day before its release. He noted that Moscow, confident of conventional arms superiority, had long proposed mutual renunciation of first use of nuclear weapons. The proposal was "tantamount to making Europe safe for conventional aggression," Mr. Haig contended; the alternative would be "to reintroduce the draft, triple the size of the armed forces and put the economy on a wartime footing."

In West Germany, where plans to base new American missiles have aroused considerable opposition, Mr. Haig's view got a boost from Karsten Voigt, a Social Democrat to the left of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. Given conventional force levels, he said, a no-first-use pledge would not serve "our security interests."

New War Jitters In South Lebanon

Even if an alarmed Reagan Administration hadn't reported portentous Israeli troop movements near the Lebanon border this weekend, Palestinian guerrillas would have had plenty of reasons to fear that Israel's long-threatened strike was coming.

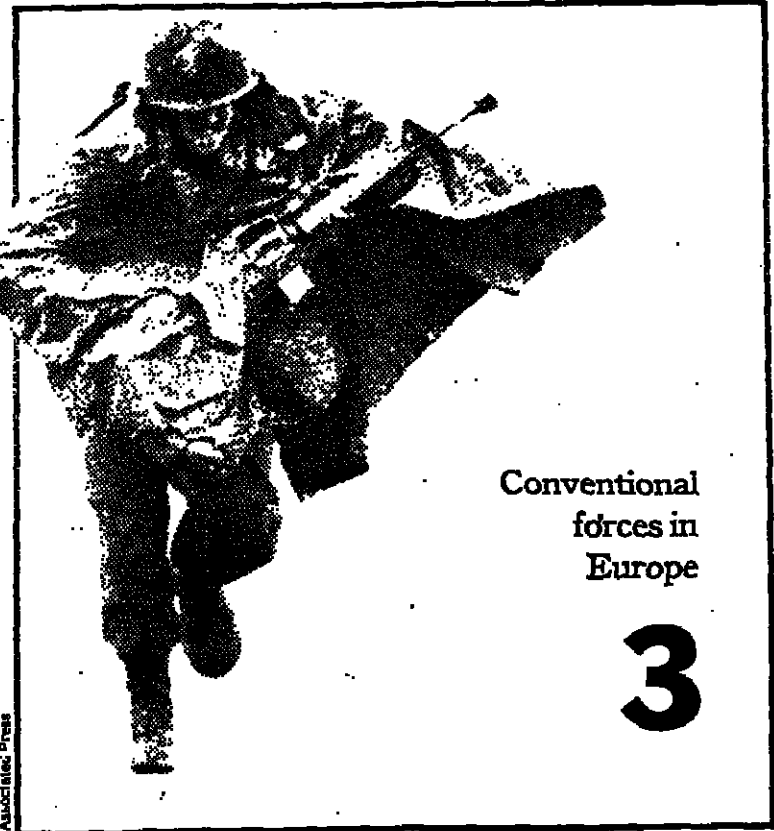
The winter rainy season, which had muddled the ground and reportedly led Israel to call off an invasion plan earlier this year, was ending. Syria, which might be tempted to back up its pro-Palestinian rhetoric with action, was preoccupied with domestic opposition. Egypt, despite a few tentative steps back into the Arab fold, was not about to jeopardize the scheduled handover of the final third of Sinai only two weeks from today. Iraq was fighting Iran. And, half a world away, Britain and Argentina were poised to go to war over the Falklands Islands, a crisis that absorbed world attention and engaged United States diplomacy.

Yesterday, while Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. was in Buenos Aires, the White House issued a statement from Barabados, where President Reagan was vacationing, urging all parties to the south Lebanon dispute to show "the utmost restraint." In Washington, Administration officials reported that Israeli reserve units had replaced regular forces in the north, freeing them for a possible invasion. Some troops had Passover leave cancelled.

The United States helped negotiate a south Lebanon cease-fire in July, after two weeks of Israeli-Palestinian fighting. Prime Minister Menachem Begin's Government has repeatedly

said that it would consider any Palestinian terrorist act against any Israeli anywhere as a violation of the cease-fire. Last weekend, an Israeli diplomat in Paris was assassinated. Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir vowed at the funeral that Israel would strike "without reservation, without end" at the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The P.L.O. denied responsibility for the murder, but, taking no chances, Yasser Arafat returned early from a conference in Kuwait and put his forces on full alert. However, Palestinian sources noted the Israelis



A U.S. soldier taking part in NATO maneuvers in West Germany.

Will the Winners Show Restraint?

While President Reagan took it easy on a "working holiday" in Jamaica and Barbados last week, American diplomats and Congressmen in El Salvador tried to mold a moderate government out of an election that favored the extreme right.

At the Administration's urging, an eight-member Congressional delegation led by the House majority leader, James C. Wright Jr., flew to San Salvador. The Congressmen added their voices to that of Ambassador Deane R. Hinton, reminding the rightists that future United States support might hinge on their including Christian Democrats in the government and continuing social and economic reforms.

The Nationalist Republican Alliance and the National Conciliation Party, which together won 33 of 60 seats in a Constituent Assembly that is to name a provisional government, backed off somewhat from an initial attempt to exclude the Christian Democrats altogether. But they were still insisting that rightists be named President and Vice President. They have ruled out any post for the Christian Democratic incumbent, José Napoleón Duarte.



People with people in mind.



בנק לאומי bank leumi

The World

In Summary

Egypt Takes a Step Toward The Arab Fold

Egypt's re-entry into other Arab nations' good graces will likely be by inches. Last week, as the date for reclaiming the last bit of Sinai drew closer, Cairo took the biggest step so far. For the first time since 1979, a high-level Egyptian delegation was openly received in an Arab country that broke relations with Egypt over its peace treaty with Israel.

The site was Kuwait, the setting, a preparatory meeting for a conference of nonaligned leaders scheduled in Baghdad in September. The Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak, hopes to attend the Baghdad meeting. (Egypt was expelled from the Arab League but retained membership in the nonaligned movement.)

Egypt's delegate to the preparatory conference, United Nations Ambassador Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid, persuaded other delegates to strike from the final communiqué the nonaligned stock condemnation of the Camp David accords. The document did not criticize Cairo's peace treaty and diplomatic relations with Israel. It singled out for criticism only the parts of Camp David that "purport to determine the future of the Palestinian people" — namely, the Egyptian-Israeli-American talks on autonomy for the 1.2 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

President Mubarak, and Ambassador Meguid at the meeting, reiterated Egypt's determination to continue the autonomy talks after Israel

reprinting Western articles suggesting that China will recall its Ambassador if the sale goes through.

American officials are piqued that China, after averting its eyes from the Carter Administration's sale of \$500 million in military equipment to Taiwan, is giving the Reagan Administration such a hard time. One factor may be continued Chinese suspicion of Mr. Reagan, who remarked just before his election that "all of us would be happier" if China gave up Communism.

But the real target of Mr. Deng's tougher line — besides domestic opponents of his pro-American pragmatism — is Taiwan itself. If the islanders come to realize that they cannot count on United States arms supplies indefinitely, they are likely to be more receptive to eventual reunification with the mainland.

Ulster Election With a Catch

Northern Ireland's Protestants have rejected all suggestions for sharing power with Roman Catholics, so London last week proposed a new tack — sharing without power, through a "consultative" assembly for Ulster.

It would be elected in the fall by proportional representation and sit in the Parliament building in Belfast last occupied by the Stormont, the body dissolved 10 years ago by Prime Minister Edward Heath.

Assembly committees would monitor the Ulster bureaucracy, except for security and defense functions. If it put together a 70 percent consensus, necessarily including Ulster's Catholic minority, the new body could send proposals for home rule to London. Nothing would please Britain more, but meanwhile the province would remain British "so long as that is the wish of the people of Northern Ireland," James Prior, Britain's Northern Ireland Secretary, reiterated.

First reactions were predictably harsh. "Repugnant to democracy," said the Rev. Ian Paisley, leader of the hard-line Protestant Democratic Unionists. Frank McManus of the Irish Independence Party dismissed the plan as a "deliberate insult." The Irish Government in Dublin called the assembly scheme "unworkable and mistaken."

British Government sources said the parties nevertheless are ready to put up candidates for assembly elections, probably to be held in October. After that, the plan's critics fear a stalemate in the new assembly could make matters worse. But Mr. Prior hopes the new machinery will calm political violence and create conditions to breathe new life into the Ulster economy. Unemployment last month reached 19.3 percent. Nonmilitary spending alone in the province costs British taxpayers \$2 billion a year.

Career Ending or Purge Beginning?

The other shoe dropped last week for Henryk Samsonowicz, longtime member of the Polish Communist Party and a prominent liberal. He was expelled from the party two months ago. Now, he has been ousted as rector of Warsaw University.

Observers were divided over whether his removal was just the inevitable follow-up of his expulsion from the party or the opening salvo in a Government campaign to purge universities of Solidarity supporters and other unrepentant thinkers. "The big question is who fired him and why," a Western diplomat said.

Since martial law was imposed on Dec. 13, staff members at Polish universities have been largely untouched by "ideological verification" — the military Government's euphemism for purge. However, the Independent Union of Students, which emerged from a student strike last year, was dissolved on Jan. 5. Under strict new guidelines, students are obliged to attend all their classes and are subject to immediate expulsion for violating martial law decrees.

The independent Polish Journalists Association has also been disbanded. Yesterday, one of the few leaders of the Solidarity union to elude capture, Zbigniew Bujak, said in a clandestine letter to unionists that he believed that Solidarity, which has been suspended, would be banned by the military regime.

Professor Samsonowicz was a supporter of the independent students' association and of Solidarity. A renowned medieval historian, he became head of the 16,000-student university in September 1980, replacing an unpopular conservative swept out on the tide of pro-Solidarity enthusiasm and intellectual liberalization. After martial law was decreed, the professor was reported to have accepted the authorities' demands that all nonofficial political activities at the university be banned. But he refused to allow "ideological verification" of the faculty or students.

Milt Freudenberg and Barbara Slavin

Hope for Peaceful Settlement Now Rests With Washington



Lieut. Gen. Leopoldo F. Galtieri giving a thumbs-up sign to a rally in Buenos Aires celebrating the Argentine occupation of the Falkland Islands.

Argentina Sped Past The Point of No Return

By EDWARD SCHUMACHER

BUENOS AIRES. BRITAIN has set a midnight deadline for imposing a naval blockade of the Falkland Islands. A British armada is steaming down the Atlantic. The European Common Market yesterday announced a total ban on imports from and arms sales to Argentina. Argentina has been defeated in the United Nations Security Council. Even fellow members of the Organization of American States appear more embarrassed than impressed by Argentina's seizure of the Falkland Islands 10 days ago.

But Argentines seem determined to hold the islands, which they call the Malvinas. If the British "want to come, let them come. — we'll fight them," President Leopoldo F. Galtieri yesterday told tens of thousands of people massed before the presidential Pink House, where he had just met with Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. All through the week, as the Government poured men and arms into the Falklands, Argentines lined up to volunteer for service. Already schools were being named after the four men Argentina said it lost in seizing the islands.

All the same, some of the initial euphoria was fading and the announcement that Britain was sending a fleet caused "real jitters" inside the military Government, a diplomat here said. Having made their military move, the junta seemed eager to negotiate from a position of strength. They have pinned their hopes for negotiations on the United States.

There is a bit of nerve in their turn to Washington now. On the invasion eve, General Galtieri

refused a personal plea from President Reagan to call it off. Indeed, Adm. Thomas B. Hayward, Chief of Naval Operations, was in Buenos Aires advancing the Administration's policy of closer ties with Argentina. While Argentine ships and marines were landing on the Falklands, he was at a cocktail party with much of the Argentine Navy brass, who didn't say a word. (In Washington, the evening after the invasion, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the chief United Nations delegate, attended a previously scheduled dinner in her honor at the Argentine Embassy. The Deputy Secretary of State, Walter J. Stoessel, and Thomas O. Enders, Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, also were there.)

Although the junta was stressing negotiations, the eruption of public support and unity over the invasion has left it limited room for compromise. The Government itself has reduced its negotiating options. Neutral diplomats had hoped for a Hong Kong-style solution, under which Britain would cede sovereignty over the islands, then lease them back and administer them. But last week, the Argentine Government committed itself to administering the islands when it installed a governor there and flew in for the ceremony members of the church and leaders of the major opposition political and labor groups, as well as representatives of business, farming and other national groups. Argentine laws and money are already being introduced in the islands. Senior Foreign Ministry officials said Friday that a Hong Kong compromise was out.

Not Many Options Left

Options left for negotiations, diplomats here said, were a kind of limited autonomy or another formula that would allow the 1,300 islanders, most of whom are British citizens, to retain their citizenship. The Argentine Government also might give back the Falkland dependencies — the South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands, which lie more than 800 miles southeast of the Falklands and are uninhabited except for a British Antarctic survey station. Even that concession, however, could be politically risky since Argentina's claims to parts of Antarctica are based on its claim to the dependencies.

Just before the invasion, the military regime faced violent labor demonstrations against its economic policies, which have failed to cure a serious recession or cut an inflation rate now running at 150 percent. Domestic opposition was clearly a target and clearly, it has been defused.

"With so many bad things in the country," said Angel Robledo, a leader of the opposition Peronist Party, "this is finally a good thing."

However, the main motive behind the Argentine decision was nationalist fervor. The anniversary of 150 years of British rule of the Falklands was coming in January and Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Méndez came into office pledging to get the islands back before then. Since the military took power six years ago, the navy has been hawkish to reclaim the Falklands by force.

They Weren't So 'Decadent'

But the generals and admirals failed to foresee the British reaction. Although Argentines copy British mannerisms, many believe that Britain is a "decadent" country. A Government press agency release said drugs were found in the British marine barracks on the Falklands and called that proof of their decadence. Few officials believed the British would be willing to fight for a barren outpost 8,000 miles away.

The Argentines also underestimated the international reaction. The junta had anticipated a victory at the United Nations, expecting support from other third world nations and, at the last resort, a Soviet veto. But only Panama echoed its argument that the junta had merely acted against colonialism. (The Russians belatedly tried to make amends by warning the British that the dispatch of a fleet was "an immediate threat to world peace." But they still have not condoned the Argentine resort to force.) At the Organization of American States, Caribbean nations said self-determination for the islanders was as important as anticolonialism. Brazil was said to be considering allowing the British Royal Navy to use its ports for refueling. Another Latin neighbor not to be counted on was Chile, with which Argentina almost went to war in 1978 over a territorial dispute in the Beagle Channel. However, Peru, a Chilean rival, offered unspecified military help and Cuba yesterday sent its ambassador back to Buenos Aires.

The largely adverse reaction has stirred old Argentine complaints that there is an "anti-Argentine conspiracy" among industrial Western nations to keep Argentina a second-rate power and provider of only beef and wheat. "Why is it so different that we now occupy the islands than when Britain occupied them," an official asked. Another complained, "Everyone uses force, but we're the only ones isolated for it."

Making History or Just Making Waves?

By DREW MIDDLETON

*If blood be the price of admiralty,
Lord God, we ha' paid in full.*

RUDYARD Kipling's words, written when the British Empire was at its zenith, echo across the Atlantic as once more an island people place their faith in a fleet. The armada's mission is to liberate the Falkland Islands, one of Britain's last colonial outposts, from Argentine invaders. Last week, as the main battle fleet steamed past the Azores, Defense Minister John Nott declared that other British ships (reportedly led by four nuclear-powered submarines) would fire on any Argentine ship within a 200-mile radius of the islands as of 11:01 P.M. today New York time.

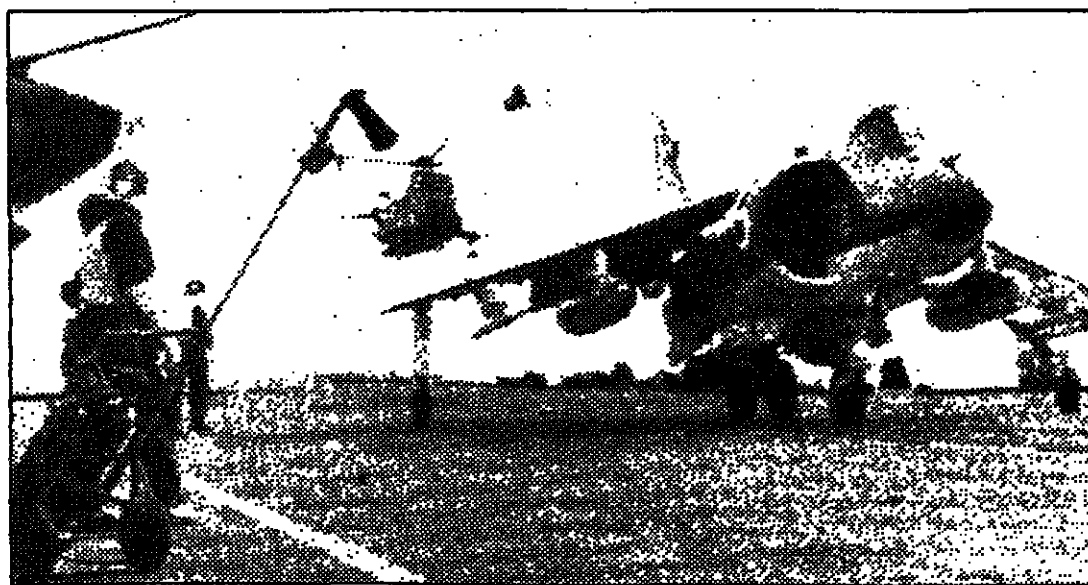
The expedition is being viewed as more than a make-or-break test of Britain's naval prowess. It also will test whether qualitatively superior forces can coerce those of a weaker power in its own region. For that reason, it will be closely watched in Moscow and Washington as an example of the projection of sea power over great distances, in this case 8,000 miles. Its fate will affect naval planning by the superpowers, NATO analysts said, because United States Navy aircraft carriers and the growing number of Soviet carriers and heavy cruisers are designed to accomplish similar missions.

The Royal Navy is considered the best equipped of the European fleets. Its primary role is to scour the waters around the British Isles for submarines. Now about two-thirds of the surface ships normally deployed for that mission are thousands of miles away.

This raises the question of who would carry out those duties in the event of a war if the Royal Navy was similarly diverted. Pentagon planners worry that European allies have failed to build up sufficient naval strength to carry out simultaneously their NATO tasks and to protect national interests far away.

Ever since Drake singed the beard of the King of Spain at Cadiz in 1587, the British have made a specialty of long-range naval operations. But in mounting the Falklands operation, they will encounter problems Drake never envisaged.

A basic lesson of World War II was that surface ships cannot operate with any freedom unless they are covered by fighter aircraft. Do the carriers in the British task force, Invincible and Hermes, have sufficient air power both to protect the fleet and carry out offensive missions? The two medium-sized carriers normally



Helicopters over the British carrier Hermes heading to the Falklands. On deck is a Harrier jet.

carry five Harrier jump-jets and eight helicopters each. There are reports, which British sources would neither confirm nor deny, that the number of Harriers has been doubled. The Harrier's range — 3,445 miles if refueled once in flight and 2,300 miles without refueling — appears adequate for both offensive and defensive operations. The five destroyers and 11 frigates that make up the core of the surface fleet have Sea Slug missiles for use against aircraft and surface ships, and Exocet surface-to-surface missiles with a range of more than 20 miles.

The second challenge facing the fleet is supply. A blockade of the Falklands will operate at the end of a supply line running back to Britain. It may be possible to establish a forward base on Ascension Island, 3,500 miles from the islands.

But however the expedition is resupplied, the cost to Britain is likely to be staggering. One estimate put the initial expense at \$400 million. Such sums will eat into an already pared-down defense budget and could undermine British economic recovery. A State Department official recalled that it was the cost of Britain's Suez expedition in 1956 (partly the result of economic and diplomatic pressure by the United States against the operation) that forced Anthony Eden's Government to end the invasion.

The Royal Navy's history of success has led some analysts to exaggerate its superiority over the Argentine forces. Although the British cer-

tainly have the edge in experience and technology, Argentina can deploy significant forces. Its air force outnumbered the British, with 223 combat aircraft, including 68 American-built A-4 Skyhawks and 58 French- and Israeli-built fighter bombers. It also has one squadron of French Mirage III interceptors. Nine elderly British Canberra bombers constitute the bomber force.

The Argentine Navy is less formidable. The country's only aircraft carrier, the Veinticinco de Mayo, carries 18 of the subsonic Skyhawks. She is old (launched in 1943), slow and, according to Washington analysts, in desperate need of a thorough overhaul. Surface combatants include a former American cruiser of the Brooklyn class, launched in 1939, 10 destroyers, two of them reasonably modern, and four submarines.

American and other analysts of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization believe that the British fleet is strong enough to establish a blockade of the Falklands. They have less confidence in Britain's ability to mount an invasion of the islands. No one doubts the professional ability of the Royal Marine commandos and Parachute regiment units, believed to total about 3,600 men. Their consensus, however, was that, as one American said, "good as they are, there just aren't enough of them." Diplomats in Buenos Aires said as many as 10,000 Argentines were already dug in in the Falklands. Argentina also has called up nearly 100,000 army reservists.



Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid

withdraws from Sinai in two weeks. However, most other Arab regimes regard the negotiations as dead. Saudi Arabia reportedly intends to revive its eight-point peace plan and perhaps call for a Geneva-style conference, with Palestinian and Soviet participation, to replace the Camp David forum.

An equally pressing topic among the nonaligned last week was the war between two members, Iran and Iraq, which could result in a change of venue for the September meeting. That would be a disappointment to President Mubarak, whose presence in Baghdad would be a symbol of Egypt's rejoining the Arab family. However, the war has also provided Cairo with an opportunity. Last year, Anwar el-Sadat sent two major arms and ammunition shipments to Iraq and Egyptian expatriates there have been serving with the Iraqi Army. Last month, a high-level Iraqi arms-buying mission reportedly visited Cairo.

China Asks Limit On Taiwan Arms

Like Ronald Reagan, Deng Xiaoping is getting flak from his Taiwan lobby. The Chinese leader, who in December 1978 acceded to informal United States ties with the island in return for formal relations with the mainland, has still set no public timetable for Washington to whittle down its one-and-a-half-China policy to one. But a commentary in the People's Daily last week suggested that Peking would be much more patient if the United States set a deadline on selling arms to the Nationalist Government. "China can under no circumstances permit the situation of the U.S. selling arms to Taiwan to continue without a time limit," the commentary said.

To mollify the Chinese, the Reagan Administration in January turned down Taiwan's request for advanced American warplanes and substituted a scaled-down sale of \$90 million in military spare parts. Lobbying hard for mainland acceptance of the deal, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. last week called in the Chinese Ambassador, Chai Zemin. But Peking seems unwilling to bend. Chinese newspapers have been pointedly

Focus Shifted Sharply Last Week to East-West Conventional Forces

By LESLIE H. GELB

THE growth of the Soviet nuclear weapons arsenal to "parity" with the United States is contributing to a basic re-evaluation of NATO military strategy. Central to this strategy over the years was the presumption that the United States would be prepared to use nuclear weapons first in the event of an overwhelming Soviet conventional attack. As long as the United States was generally believed to have nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, the threat of nuclear escalation was rarely challenged. But now that is changing. Arguments that were once accepted—over whether Washington would actually use nuclear weapons and risk general nuclear war—are becoming of immediate and real importance.

Last week, these issues, long debated by the experts, broke into general public view. Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr., already busy talking to Congress on a resolution for a nuclear weapons freeze, strongly upheld traditional NATO doctrine against nuclear use by four former senior officials. The four argued that it was time to move toward abandoning what they considered a suicidal commitment by the United States to use nuclear weapons first, if necessary. The threat, they said, was no longer credible and to maintain this doctrine could only "add to the risk of nuclear war" and "endanger nuclear exchange." The four were Robert S. McNamara, former Secretary of Defense, and McGeorge Bundy, White House national security adviser in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations; George F. Kennan, former Ambassador to Moscow, and Gerard C. Smith, former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and President Nixon's lead weapons negotiator.

The feasibility of this no-first-use doctrine depends directly on whether NATO is in a position to defend itself against a non-nuclear attack with conventional forces alone, that is, without resort to nuclear weapons. Mr. Haig said NATO was not in such a position, which helps explain why Moscow can afford to take the nuclear pledge not to fire first. Advocates in the West of a no-first-use policy, he said, "seldom go on to propose that the United States reintroduce the draft, triple the size of its armed forces and put its economy on a wartime footing." He argued that these steps would be necessary to counterbalance "the Soviet conventional advantages and geopolitical position in Europe."

Reagan Administration and other military experts in Washington believe the Russians know they would have to pay an extremely high price if they attacked and that they could not be confident of the outcome. But the experts clearly do not feel comfortable with the balance of conventional forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, in his budget presentation to Congress, concluded that "the quality of NATO's deterrent posture has weakened in recent years, and an accelerated U.S. and allied force improvement effort is needed if NATO is to retain a viable initial defense capability during the 1980's." Pentagon officials say this means that right now, NATO could withstand the first Warsaw Pact thrust, but after a week or so the roof would cave in. Their estimates about the future are far gloomier.

Harold Brown, Defense Secretary in the Carter Administration, said in a recent interview, "the Soviets have to have doubts about a successful attack, but not as many as I would like them to have." But he added that NATO forces were in better shape than at any time since the mid-1960's. Although the Warsaw Pact was ahead, he said, the correlation of forces is "either level or changing in our direction."

Continuing a longstanding budgetary pattern, more than half the \$1.8 trillion the Reagan Administration proposed to spend for defense in the next five years would be for NATO. What is the preponderance of opinion on what all this money has bought and what it will buy?

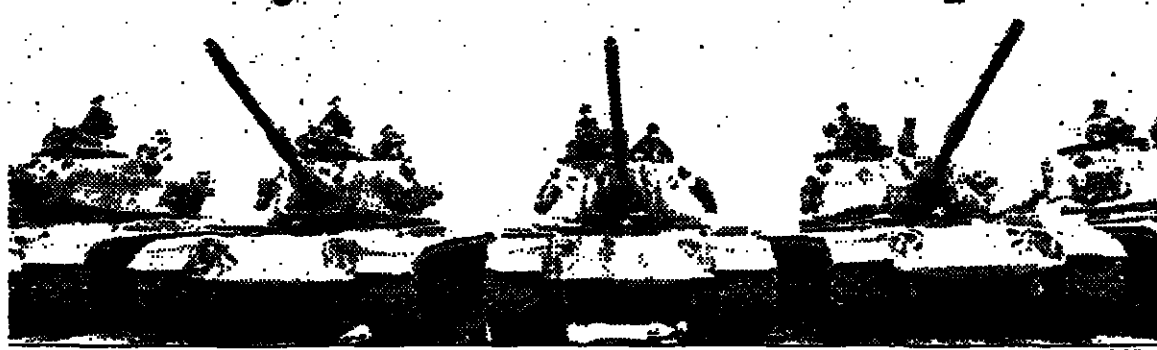
Doesn't the Soviet Union far outspend the United States?

The Central Intelligence Agency estimates that in 1980, the Soviet Union spent \$175 billion on military forces, 50 percent more than the United States. Both sides spent the bulk of these funds on the European theater. The C.I.A. compares the Soviet figure because the salaries of low-paid Soviet troops are computed in terms of much higher American servicemen's pay. Nonetheless, almost all experts agree that Moscow has been outspending Washington for conventional forces in Europe by \$10 billion to \$30 billion a year during the last decade.

But this comparison leaves out allied expenditures on both sides. The International Institute of Strategic Studies in London reports that Moscow's Warsaw Pact allies collectively spend \$20 billion to \$30 billion per year, while America's NATO allies spend \$100 billion. Thus, NATO outspend the Warsaw Pact in the 1970's by several hundred billion dollars. When allied or friendly nations in the Far East are added, the West's margin of "spending superiority" is even wider.

It is also true, however, that Moscow gets more for its money. Manpower in Eastern Europe is much cheaper than in the West, and all its allies use Soviet-made major

Questions and Answers on the Military Balance in Europe



Squaring off without the bomb

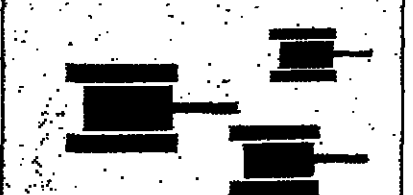
NATO and Warsaw Pact conventional forces on Europe's central front



Combat aircraft



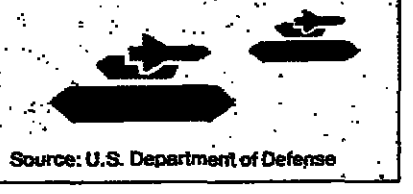
Main battle tanks



Surface to air missile launchers



Antitank guided missile launchers



arms and equipment. NATO tolerates enormous duplication of effort, with several countries producing their own aircraft, tanks and other arms. NATO spends more, but for political and economic reasons having little to do with security, the East gets more bang for the buck.

Does this translate into Warsaw Pact military superiority?

The experts say yes. The Warsaw Pact leads NATO in numbers of virtually all kinds of weapons, often by margins of two-to-one or greater. The gaps are particularly striking in tactical aircraft, tanks, antitank missile launchers, artillery and air defense guns. Taking quality into account mitigates the picture somewhat. NATO aircraft generally stay in the air longer and carry more payload. NATO tactical planes, for example, carry three to

five times the weapons load of Warsaw Pact aircraft. But quality of tanks is about even and the pact is ahead in most ground forces equipment and weaponry.

Surprisingly, manpower is about even on the central front. NATO, including France, marshals 1.1 million troops against 1.2 million for the pact. The East leads in the number of fighting divisions. Given this rough equality, the Pact would have little to gain in a strike out of the blue. The real Soviet advantages would develop from their ability to mobilize more quickly than NATO democracies over a two-week period.

Since the early 1970's, NATO and Warsaw Pact delegations have been meeting in Vienna, seeking a formula for "mutual and balanced" reductions in conventional forces in Central Europe. The talks have long been stuck

on Soviet refusal to accept Western proposals for asymmetrical reductions that would wipe out the Pact's numerical advantages.

Is Warsaw Pact superiority new and if not, why all the worrying?

Pact advantages in conventional forces are not new and, with the exception of one or two moments of rhetorical resolution, it has been a NATO principle that parity in conventional forces was not needed. NATO leaders agreed they could make up for the disparity in numbers by virtue of weaponry quality and United States superiority in intercontinental nuclear forces. The prevailing view among NATO experts was that Moscow would not risk an attack as long as the West maintained an immense lead in these areas. (President Charles de Gaulle of France disagreed. He did not think that Moscow believed Washington would risk the destruction of the United States by nuclear weapons to defend Europe.)

What worries most NATO experts today is that Western technological advantages are waning, while the Soviet Union has caught up with the United States in strategic nuclear weapons. The experts also point to the modernization of intermediate-range Soviet missiles such as the SS-20. All of this, they say, has given additional weight to Soviet advantages in conventional forces.

Do these new Soviet advantages mean Moscow could now be confident of a relatively quick victory?

Most Western experts would give a flat no. More than half the 57 Warsaw Pact divisions on the central front are not Russian. Of these, only the six East German divisions are considered reliable by Western intelligence officers. If so, almost half of Warsaw Pact manpower and one-third or more of its firepower must be assumed by Moscow to be of questionable value or worse.

In the West, some Reagan Administration officials and NATO experts contend that Washington also cannot count on some European allies. But the weight of opinion holds that West Europeans are much more likely to defend their freedoms than East Europeans are likely to fight for their ruling bureaucracies.

Also, under present strategy, Soviet planners can never disregard the risk that NATO might use tactical nuclear weapons against an attack. Moscow must consider the 7,000 United States tactical (limited-range) nuclear weapons now in Europe. NATO must also take into account a comparable Soviet capability.

What are the trends? Is the conventional balance getting better or worse for NATO?

The experts are divided. At the Pentagon and at NATO headquarters in Brussels, many experts believe the Russians are strengthening their relative position, leveling off in numbers of men and arms, but steadily improving weapons quality. They point to improvements in Soviet command and control and logistical operations and they worry about the will in the West to match these improvements.

Others, such as military experts at the State Department and some C.I.A. and NATO analysts, agree with Harold Brown's assessment: "Relative to the Soviets, we are better off today than in 1960, but not as well off as we were in 1965; back to no worse off today than in 1970, largely because of taking arms out of Europe to meet the war in Vietnam; and better off today than in 1975." Mr. Brown pointed to a substantial increase in antitank weapons, modernization of aircraft and tanks, additional training and preparation for American forces, considerable stockpiling of spare parts and ammunition by American forces (and some by the European allies), better positioning of forces and increased readiness, and increased size of West German reserve forces.

If, then, the balance is not so bleak, why the uproar?

An influential minority including Secretary Weinberger and Gen. Bernard W. Rogers, the NATO commander in Europe, believe that unless most NATO countries make substantial increases in military spending, deterrence will become doubtful and the West will soon face disaster. The growth in Soviet military power, they fear, will lead to political intimidation of the European allies. Many experts believe this has already happened.

Another group, apparently including Secretary Haig, a former NATO commander himself, believes the deterrent is still there, but fears erosion. These experts find themselves in a dilemma. If they exaggerate the threat (and Soviet military superiority) to get more money to narrow the gap, they risk making Europeans see the situation as hopeless. But if they use more moderate and careful language, Europeans and Americans might use this as an excuse to do little or nothing. Basically, they have been emphasizing the negative in order to retain the positive. As a former NATO senior commander recalled, "It's like Harry Truman used to say about public opinion, 'If you tell them nothing, they go fishing and if you tell them something, they go crazy.'"

Even those who would renounce the first-use of nuclear weapons in Europe acknowledge that NATO would have to strengthen its conventional capability and that this will take time. The four former senior officials made very clear that this was the place to start.

South Korean Dissidents Link Religion and Politics

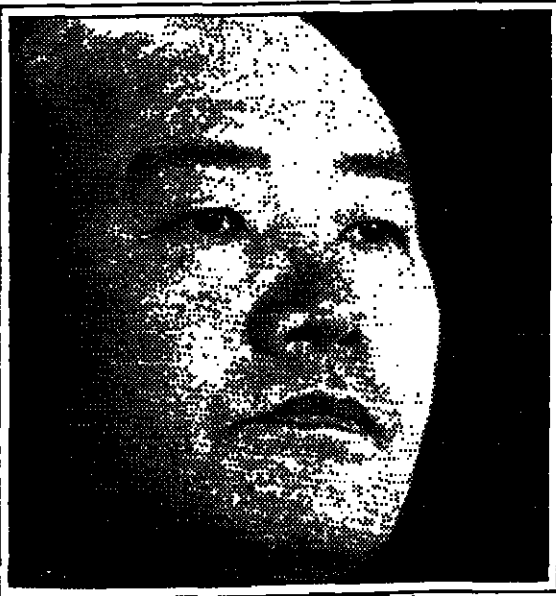
A Case of Arson Is Also a Case Study of Anti-Americanism

By HENRY SCOTT STOKES

PUSAN, SOUTH KOREA
THEOLOGY students who set fire to the American Cultural Center in Pusan last month, killing a student in the library, let behind leaflets calling on the United States to "leave this land"—a demand no South Korean leader or dissident spokesman has made. Government officials and United States diplomats in Seoul dismissed the Pusan incident as "an aberration" by a small group of extremists, but many Korean intellectuals, church leaders and other critics of President Chun Doo Hwan's two-year-old regime said the fire was a sign of growing anti-Americanism. Leaflets distributed at the National University in Seoul last fall also called for removal of the 40,000 United States troops stationed in South Korea, a personal demand of North Korea's Communist President, Kim Il Sung.

Last week, police arrested a Roman Catholic priest and several lay associates in connection with their investigation of the Pusan fire. Moon Pu Shik, a 23-year-old student at a Presbyterian college, has admitted planning and executing the arson, officials said. He fled afterward with Kim Un Suk, a fellow student at Koshin Academy in Pusan, to a Catholic educational center at Wonsu. Police said Miss Kim helped plan the crime. The priest at Wonsu who was arrested, the Rev. Choi Ki Suk, had arranged for the two fugitives to surrender to the authorities.

Aside from a lesser arson incident at the American Cultural Center in Kwangju 16 months ago, the attack in Pusan was unprecedented in 30 years of extensive United States military and economic presence. Most South Koreans believe American withdrawal would be a signal for war between the 1.3 million soldiers facing each other across the demilitarized zone dividing the two countries. At the same time, many are unhappy with the United States role here and what they perceive as Washington's



President Chun Doo Hwan

support of President Chun. Some believe that Gen. John A. Wickham Jr., the United States commander, and American Central Intelligence Agency officials backed Mr. Chun, who headed military and civilian intelligence, when he came to power. In May 1980, General Wickham released South Korean units under his command to help Mr. Chun put down an uprising in Kwangju. They moved in with American-built tanks and firearms.

Hundreds of civilians were killed in the Kwangju fighting, and many Korean intellectuals blamed the United States. In an interview with American reporters in August 1980, General Wickham said General Chun was a likely future national leader. Within days, General Chun had moved to seize the presidency, ejecting the weak civilian President, Choi Kyu Hah. Shortly after President Reagan was inaugurated in January 1981, he welcomed President Chun to the White House, enhancing the Korean's reputation as Washington's man. In contrast, Gen. Park Chung Hee was opposed by American officials when he first seized power in a bloodless coup in 1961. President Park was assassinated by his own security chief in 1979.

Assigning the Blame

"The students arrested for the Pusan fire don't care a damn about national security," a Korean intellectual said. "They are in no sense Communists, but they are angry with Americans, blaming them for everything that Chun does, for the repression."

"The United States should not make Korea its subordinate country, but leave this land," said a translation of Mr. Moon's leaflet summarized by diplomats in Seoul. "Looking back on history from the 15 August [1945] Liberation until today, the United States, while providing economic aid for Korea, has closely colluded with Korean businessmen and forced us to obey its domination under the pretext of being an ally."

"The United States has supported the military regime which refuses democratization, social revolution and development and unification," the leaflet added. "In fact the United States has brought about the permanent national division." This was a reference to agreement by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1945 to partition Korea after Japanese rule was ended, pending unification elections that have never taken place. Unification is a key issue for 57 million Koreans in both countries.

A leading Pusan pastor described Koshin, the Presby-

terian college that Mr. Moon attended, as conservative, with a strong patriotic tradition. Under Japanese colonial rule (1910-45), the college produced martyrs, he said, who "would not bow to the Rising Sun flag. Some at Koshin were executed for that."

Church leaders fear that torture, which they say the police frequently employ under Mr. Chun, will be used to extract confessions. Government officials strongly denied this. "There will be no torture," said Park Shin Il, an information official in Seoul. "If torture is found to have been used," said a moderate churchman in Seoul, "the Americans will be blamed."

The trial of Mr. Moon and Miss Kim is scheduled to start next month. Among other suspects is a resident of the Wonsu Catholic center, Kim Byong Jang, a lay teacher and rights activist accused of helping to plan the Pusan fire. Church leaders predict that the prosecutors will demand the death sentence, which they say could provoke an explosion on Korean campuses and more anti-Americanism, while also bringing the Catholic church, with one million adherents in South Korea, into politics.

Celebrating 100 Years of Ties

Huh Moon Doh, Vice Minister of Culture and Information and a presidential confidant, advised a reporter not to attach significance to "intellectuals" who criticize the United States. "Ordinary Koreans" in the towns and villages are pro-American, he said. The Ambassador to Washington, Lew Byong Hoon, also maintained there were no signs of real anti-Americanism. Korean officials noted that the United States and South Korea will celebrate 100 years of diplomatic ties next month and that Vice President Bush has scheduled a visit for the end of April. But church leaders warn that the mood on the campuses, at least, is far from receptive. "We have to re-examine the entire course of our relations with the United States over the last 100 years," one said. That, in effect, was the message of the arsonists' leaflets in Pusan.

BROADWAY 80

I'm glad I changed...

The Nation

In Summary

Federalism's Biggest Swap Falls Through

After President Reagan's "new federalism" was greeted with more suspicion than applause, deputy press secretary Larry Speakes redefined it. Mr. Reagan's "bold new stroke" became "a two-way street" of consultations with the nation's governors. Last week, it was clear that traffic was stuck. The key swap—the transfer of welfare and food stamp programs to the states in exchange for Federal assumption of all Medicaid costs—"is not going anywhere," a spokesman for the National Governors' Association declared. "We are finished," added an Administration official, "thinking about draft legislation for the swap this year."

How White House strategists plan to recoup on the initiative that the Administration once billed as the cornerstone of the Reagan domestic policy is not clear. While Mr. Reagan is said to care deeply about maximizing local control, the governors, who've said for years that they would like more responsibility, are equally concerned over the size of the tab. While the Administration insists there would be no winners or losers—Medicaid, it figures, would cost the states \$19 billion next year, a fair trade for food stamp and welfare costs of \$16 billion—many states' calculations show themselves coming up short in a few years.

Hinckley Trial Set This Month

After months of maneuvering over evidence, April 27 was set as the trial date for John W. Hinckley Jr., charged with shooting President Reagan, White House press secretary James S. Brady and two security men last year.

The final obstacle was cleared when the Government decided not to seek Supreme Court review of an appeals court decision last week that

dustiness rather than nature were up in arms again last week as President Reagan unveiled his "national materials and minerals program," designed to reduce dependence on "potentially unstable foreign sources" for strategic metals.

Under the proposal, domestic mining would be stimulated by opening some 734 million acres of previously protected public lands and through tax incentives for research and development. According to the White House, the United States now imports more than half of its supply of 20 strategic minerals. The new plan calls for a substantial buildup of the strategic stockpile; public recommendation on which lands should be opened will be solicited.

Industry spokesmen applauded the principle of the program. "Freedom and prosperity are directly dependent on our ability to secure adequate materials," J. Allen Overton of the American Mining Congress said. "Land availability is a red herring," said Debbie Sease of the Sierra Club. "We know what minerals are on the public lands."

Hard Hats, Hard Times

No poll was needed to catch the political mood in the depressed construction industry last week at an A.F.L.-C.I.O. building trades conference in Washington.

Some 4,000 delegates, many of them hard-hat conservatives, cheered two decidedly unconservative politicians, former Vice President Walter F. Mondale and Senator Edward M. Kennedy, as they took a two-by-four to Reaganomics, warning up, perhaps, for 1984. At one point, Mr. Mondale said the President was refusing to modify his economic program because "he's seen too many Westerns, the ones where the Lone Ranger toughs it out on his own until the cavalry comes to his rescue."

President Reagan, greeted by scattered boos, got one of the chillier receptions of his term. A pledge that he would never impose wage controls was an easy applause line; his assertions that by cutting taxes over three years the White House was doing hourly wage earners a favor—keeping them out of higher tax brackets—didn't even come close. Other Administration emissaries, including Labor Secretary Raymond J. Donovan and Republican National Committee chairman Richard Richards, didn't fare much better with their efforts to draw the delegates' attention away from their trade's 20 percent unemployment rate.

Hard times of a different sort apparently attracted Roy Lee Williams, president of the teamsters. Mr. Williams and three other defendants are to go on trial May 3 on Federal bribery and conspiracy charges. Mr. Williams' union was expelled from the A.F.O.-C.I.O. 25 years ago for refusing to cooperate in a corruption investigation. Now, he said, he wanted to meet with federal leaders soon to discuss reaffiliation. An A.F.O.-C.I.O. spokesman said such talks would come only after Mr. Williams' legal troubles were behind him.

Fairness Rule Takes Its Lumps

From the start, many broadcasters regarded the "fairness doctrine," passed by Congress more than 30 years ago, as manifestly unfair. Now the industry has friends in high places, starting with the Great Communicator himself.

Last week, Mark S. Fowler, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, said at a National Association of Broadcasters convention in Dallas that Government enforcement of the fairness rule amounted to censorship. Broadcasters have maintained that the fairness doctrine, which requires them to present contrasting views after they have aired a program that deals with "a controversial issue of public importance," makes news coverage difficult during a political campaign season. "The simple fact is that no newspaper and no magazine is subject to second-guessing by a Government agency when it comes to fairness," Mr. Fowler said, by way of comparison. He urged the industry to mount a high-frequency lobbying drive.

The trade organization wasn't disappointed with what it heard from Senator Bob Packwood either. The Oregon Republican, chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, whose turf includes electronic communications, said that because they are much too vulnerable to Congressional whims, broadcasters should enjoy First Amendment rights. Some broadcast reporters might abuse such rights, he said, "as surely as do some print journalists." But, he added, "If the choice is between expression regulated by Government and unfettered expression abused by a few, there is no question in my mind which is the proper choice."



John W. Hinckley Jr.

oral and written evidence against Mr. Hinckley had been obtained illegally and could not be presented at the trial. The oral evidence consists of some statements by Mr. Hinckley to law enforcement officers on March 30, 1981, the day of the attempted assassination; the written evidence is handwritten notes taken from the prisoner's cell in July.

Mr. Hinckley has admitted that he shot President Reagan and the others but has pleaded not guilty by reason of insanity. The Government said that the evidence excluded by the appeals court could help prove that Mr. Hinckley was rational and in control of himself on the day of the shooting. They added, however, that other evidence they will introduce will be sufficient to dispute an insanity defense.

Strategic Metals And Public Lands

Critics who say that the Administration's environmental program was designed to conserve private in-

Michael Wright, Caroline Rand Herron and William C. Rhoden

Loss of Faith in Reaganomics Means a Budget Role for O'Neill, Others



Black Star/Fred Ward
Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr.



The New York Times/George Tames
Representative Jim Wright



Paul Conklin
Representative Richard Bolling

Democrats Rediscover Their Power

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

WASHINGTON
THERE is a change in the political dynamics of Congress, and it was never so noticeable as it was last week. Equally evident, however, were the limits to the shift.

It was Democratic chiefs, not the dissident party members with Reaganomic sympathies who held the balance of power only last fall, who met secretly with White House officials and Senate Republicans to explore a budget compromise. The talks broke for the Easter recess complete with rumors of success—including \$30 billion in new taxes, defense cuts and entitlement cost-of-living caps. All that was needed, the hopeful asserted, was a firm go-ahead from House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. on the one hand and the President on the other to hammer out the details on a 4 percent income tax surcharge and/or an import fee, a delay or reduction in scheduled Social Security rises and the differences between the currently proposed 10 percent and a revised 7 percent defense spending increase.

At bottom, however, Democratic leaders admitted that their new ascendancy was still shaky. A growing loss of confidence in the Administration's handling of the economy and not any new trust in the Democrats lies behind the apparent power of Mr. O'Neill. Though last week's wholesale price report showed another decline, 0.1 percent for March, marking the first time since 1976 that the index has dropped for two straight months, most

analysts attribute the inflation slowdown to the recession that has left 9 percent of the workforce jobless. "To be perfectly candid," said Representative Jim Wright of Texas, the majority leader, "it's not the result of any brilliant strategy on our part" that his party has resumed Capitol Hill's center stage.

The Democrats also recognize that the President has not only the power to veto any bill but, despite Congressional disillusionment with his economic program, enough votes behind him to make his rejection stick. In other words, each side can block the other, but not force through a positive program. That leaves only two possible outcomes—compromise or stalemate—and few analysts are willing to predict which will occur.

A key faction that seems to be swinging back is the "boll weevils," a group of about 40 conservative Democrats from the Sun Belt who defected to the Reagan plan last year. Many of them are appalled at the President's proposed budget deficit, which is likely to hit \$100 billion even if last week's rumored compromise becomes fact, and they report that high interest rates are devastating small businessmen throughout their region. Representative Beryl Anthony Jr. says that in his Arkansas district, "farmers are walking around so quietly, they act like there's been a death in the family."

The Moth Alliance

The second swing group are the "gypsy moths," moderate Republicans from the Northeast and Middle West who stayed loyal in crucial votes a year ago. Even Representative Robert H. Michel, the Republican minority leader, concedes that defections are growing. Representative Olympia J. Snowe of Maine is a second-term who finds her constituents questioning the "basic fairness" of Mr. Reagan's budget proposals. "I couldn't accept the President's budget as is," she said.

But criticizing the Reagan budget is easier than coming up with an alternative, particularly in a party that almost by tradition is factionally divided. Mr. O'Neill heads the Democrats' "old New Deal-Fair Deal" wing, as Representative Richard Bolling, chairman of the Rules Committee and a senior Democratic strategist, describes them—

lawmakers who have spent their careers nurturing the benefit programs that are now under attack. Younger moderates have a different view.

Meanwhile, the boll weevils, despite their unhappiness with the economic effects of the Reagan program, are expected to continue to fight for high defense budgets—for ideological reasons but also because of defense installations in their districts. Because of the possibility of more party disunity in the economic and political pain of budget decisions, some Democratic leaders think the party is better off lying low, and proposing no visible alternatives.

The Regular Republicans

While struggling to keep his own troops in order, Mr. O'Neill must also deal with other Congressional power centers, starting with the House Republican leadership. While the Speaker and Mr. Michel share a common goal now—urging the President to compromise so as to prevent defections from their own ranks—they also realize that November's Congressional elections are but 200 days away. Neither is above grabbing the political advantage, and each eyes the other warily.

Meanwhile, the Senate is operating on a separate track, presenting another set of problems. The main Senate Democrats on budget matters, such as Senator Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina, are more conservative than Mr. O'Neill and more willing to sacrifice Social Security increases in the name of a reduced deficit. Until Mr. Reagan requested a delay in their schedule, Senate Republicans, led by Howard H. Baker Jr., the majority leader, were prepared to push ahead with their own budget after the Easter recess. On one hand, House Democrats don't want to be mouse-trapped by whatever the Senate produces. On the other, letting the Senate go first solves their problem of coming up with a budget of their own.

In private, the Democratic leadership admits that the best thing that happened to them last year was their unbroken record of defeats. It made it almost impossible to blame them for the current economic woes. The irony of their growing power in the House is that this year they might actually win a few budget fights, and lose a few Congressional seats in the process.

I.R.S. Expects to Come Up \$87 Billion Short on Returns Due This Week

Your Honest Taxpayer Bears Watching

By EDWARD COWAN

WASHINGTON—The national vanity that Americans are honest folks who dutifully file honest tax returns is in jeopardy.

When some 95 million returns for 1981 have been filed by midnight Thursday, the Internal Revenue Service estimates that it will be \$87 billion short on taxes owed on legitimate income, as against \$29 billion for 1973, the first year such statistics were kept.

This is the profoundly worrisome aspect of the "underground economy" for Treasury officials and members of Congress who fear that tax evasion could become widespread. "We are not on the edge of a precipice," says I.R.S. Commissioner Roscoe L. Egger Jr., "but unless we move now to turn it around we will create a problem for the future."

Two Republican Senators on the Finance Committee, Bob Dole of Kansas, the committee chairman, and Charles E. Grassley of Iowa, have introduced a bill that would expand reporting requirements for employers and would stiffen penalties for under-reporting by taxpayers.

"Under-reporting of income is the big problem, people are just plain leaving income off their returns," Mr. Egger said. A second, smaller source of the tax gap is overstatement of deductions, exemptions and credits. "They're taking the chance their returns are not going to be examined," he added, referring to the decline in the fraction of returns audited this year, 1.59 percent.

The Internal Revenue estimates that, on average, it will audit 15.3 out of every 1,000 individual tax returns during the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, with the chances of an audit much higher for those who file the long form, report multiple or nonwithheld sources of income (including capital gains), take large itemized deductions or show they have invested in tax shelters. The I.R.S. guesses that taxes owed on drugs, gambling and prostitution may be \$6 billion to \$10 billion. But Mr. Egger regards this as the least part of the compliance problem.

For decades America was said to have an efficient income tax system based on honest, voluntary "self-assessment." Invidious comparisons with Europe and South America were common. What has happened? "There is a trend toward contempt and abuse of the system which seriously

undermines the basic concept of voluntary compliance on which the system depends," said William J. Anderson, director of the general government division of the General Accounting Office, in an interview. "As the tax bite increases, some people are venting their anger by being a little more dishonest on their tax form."

Wage inflation and the upward creep of blue-

(Form 1099) on dividends and interest with returns filed—often filed—by taxpayers. One reason is that nearly half the 645 million information returns for 1981 were filed on paper rather than the magnetic tape that computers can read.

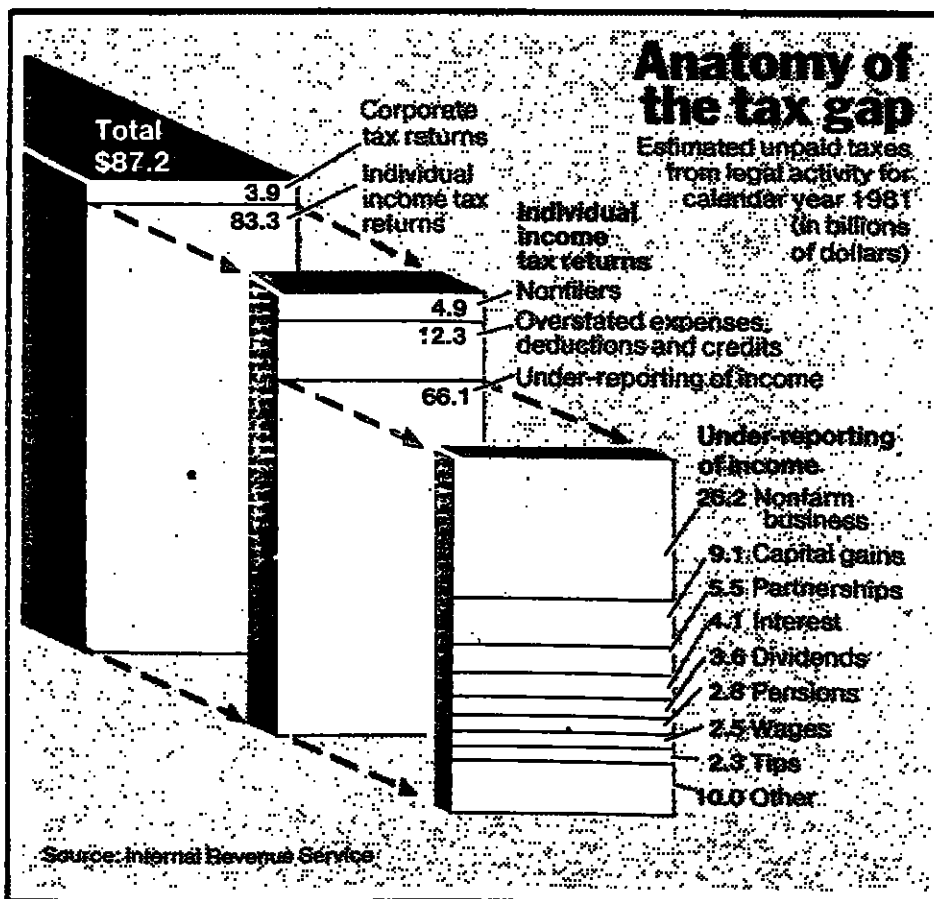
The Feb. 1 increase in the interest rate on overdue taxes, to 20 percent from 12 percent, is likely to discourage businesses from regarding the Federal Treasury as a source of low-cost working capital. Of the 1.4 million delinquent accounts listed by I.R.S. for Sept. 30, 1981, half were business accounts and three-fourths of those owed withheld wages.

All of these factors, however, may be secondary. The riveting aspect of the latest estimates is that they show noncompliance to be highest for income on which there is no withholding and for which the recipients believe Internal Revenue will get no information return. For 1981, officials have projected voluntary compliance rates ranging from 99 percent for wages to 56 percent for capital gains and 15 percent for tips. In other words, people cheat if they think they can get away with it. "The majority of American taxpayers are honest, particularly if they feel I.R.S. has an efficient mechanism for enforcing the tax laws," says Representative Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Democrat of Queens, the chairman of a subcommittee that has been looking into compliance.

"The largest single category of unreported income is from individual nonfarm business activities," Mr. Egger told Congress. He cited "small transactions at the retail level, nonreporting of payments received by independent contractors" such as house painters, real estate agents, physicians and lawyers.

He thinks Congress should deal with the problem by extending withholding to dividends, interest and payments to independent contractors. "Withholding is far and away the most efficient way to collect taxes, by anybody's standards," he said.

Lobbyists for the restaurant owners, waiters' union, the direct sellers, banks, savings associations, the elderly and others have defeated such legislation in the past. For a member of Congress, support for such bills brings disapproval from opponents and few or no votes from other citizens. In this sense, elective politics may be a linchpin of the underground economy.



The Economy

The Many Faces of Barlow Rand Ltd.

By JOSEPH LEYVELD

JOHANNESBURG: WHEN foreigners take notice of big business in South Africa, their attention is normally drawn to the vast Anglo-American Corporation and its chairman, Harry F. Oppenheimer, whose place in the moneyed portion of this society makes him a one-man aristocracy.

But the second-biggest industrial and mining group in South Africa is also very big. It is called Barlow Rand Ltd., and the last time anyone counted, at the end of its financial year that ended Sept. 30, it had 325 operating companies, employed 196,000 persons

and reported consolidated after-tax profit of \$441 million. That represented a 23 percent leap from the previous year and didn't include the returns on another batch of companies, nearly 600 of them, in which Barlow Rand has either an equity or management stake.

Barlow Rand also has a chairman and chief executive officer whose statements on sensitive social and political issues are perceived almost as carefully as Mr. Oppenheimer's.

Aaron Michael Rosholt, who signs himself A.M. but is generally known as Mike, made his reputation by presiding over the remarkable growth of his group: revenues, of nearly \$4.8 billion last year, represented a five-

fold increase over 1975.

But he is known even more now for the changes he has demanded from his managers in the group's labor practices. Mr. Rosholt has what might seem to be a quixotic ambition for an executive in a society as drastically riven as this one. He wants Barlow Rand to be known, here and abroad, as an equal opportunity employer.

His experience at the helm of a conglomerate faced with a chronic shortage of skilled labor at home and a chronic need to reassure overseas investors has forced him to look up from his balance sheets and tread on political ground.

At the same time, he doesn't want to be perceived as a political enemy of a Government dominated by Afrikaans-speaking whites who are just starting to overcome an almost hereditary mistrust of the English-speaking business establishment. So this soft-spoken former accountant insists that his public stance is apolitical. The issues on which he has lately been expressing himself with notable persistence, he maintains, are all social and economic matters with an unambiguous connection to the interests of Barlow Rand.

There are exceptions. In the course of a recent interview in his paneled office, which looks out on the park-like setting of the group's new corporate headquarters in a Johannesburg suburb, he was asked whether it was apolitical to deplore the practice of detention without trial as he recently did. "Detention without trial is terrible, and that is political," he conceded.

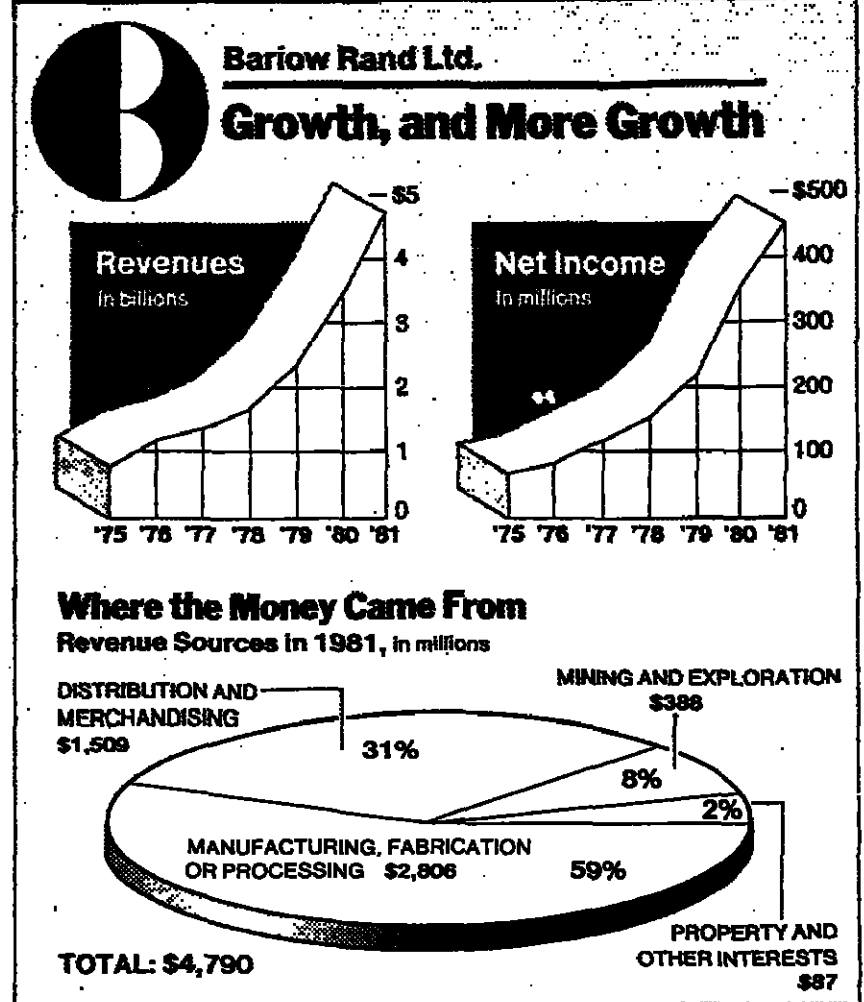
"That was a political statement by me."

What about his endorsement, in the group's last annual report, of the recommendations of a state-appointed committee that wanted to start dismantling the system known as influx control that now makes it next-to-impossible for a black migrant worker to gain a legal right of residence in an urban area or establish his family there? The Government had shelved those recommendations but the Barlow Rand chairman still argues that their time must come and soon.

"Influx control is not only an affront to dignity, which is the political side," he replied. "There's the other side. You can't run a country like that. You can't run a business. It's incompatible with the private enterprise system, isn't it? So I'm not on political grounds there." But what about the argument that black political rights would follow from black residential rights? "But it's got to be done," he replied evenly.

Mr. Rosholt, who is 61, has been chief executive officer of Barlow Rand since 1972, the year after the group started to approach its present weight on the South African scene with the acquisition of Rand Mines, one of the six major mining houses. In addition to gold and coal, it is now heavily into sugar, steel, wood and cement; on the manufacturing side, it turns out earth-moving equipment, locomotives, transformers and an array of household appliances.

It is almost easier to say what it doesn't do. Until this month, it would



A Primer for Doing Business in China

By ARMAND HAMMER

MANY American businessmen will have a "China card" to play in the decade of the 80's as deputy chairman Deng Xiaoping rapidly expands his nation's trade relations with the West. Whether that card will be an ace or a deuce depends on how each company plays the game, as well as the state of relations between our two countries.

Having just returned from a one-week business visit to Peking, I remain very optimistic about China-United States business prospects, despite a recent cooling of diplomatic relations over the proposed sale of arms to Taiwan.

After three days of in-depth meetings with representatives of the various ministries, on March 25, in the Great Hall of the People, I signed an agreement for the Occidental Petroleum Corporation with the China National Coal Development Corporation. The accord calls for a feasibility study that it is expected will lead to a joint venture to develop the world's biggest coal mine — the Pingdingshan open cut mine in Shanxi Province, which will have production of 12.5 million tons of coal a year in 1986, compared with 20 million tons from Occidental's 27 mines.

Although this potential joint venture is the largest transaction yet between an American corporation and China, to my mind it is just the tip of the iceberg as far as future trade opportunities for Occidental are concerned.

What many businessmen have come to know in dealing with China is that these deals do not materialize overnight. After spending more than a half-century dealing in East-West trade, I have found that while it is important to be well-regarded, it takes patience, determination and hard work. The coal venture took two and one-half years of give-and-take negotiations by both sides before the agreement was reached.

Members of Oxy's top management and a team of specialists were sent to participate in the negotiations, and our Chinese business peers expected no less. I find that it is also important for the corporate chief executive to be

Armand Hammer is chairman of the Occidental Petroleum Corporation.

directly involved. It helps for the chief executive officer to deal with his counterpart in the Chinese Government-controlled companies and ministries to clear some of the bureaucratic hurdles that otherwise would delay the process unnecessarily.

Today Occidental does business in some 57 countries on six continents. Everywhere I go I find opportunities, and also find that solid business practices transcend ideology if you are willing to work at it.

When it comes to business deals with foreign nations, particularly the socialist countries, I fall back on my experience as an old farmer. I believe you don't get the best out of the soil unless you put something in. We just cannot continue to pump profits from underdeveloped countries, leaving the impression that we are exploiting them. We should be willing to invest part of our profits in these countries.

When we decided to develop our interests in China three years ago, no one gave us much of a chance because of our major trade relations with the Soviet Union, particularly the 20-year fertilizer exchange agreement involving a two-way trade of about \$1 billion per year.

An interesting sidelight related to our Russian business concerns the fact that Oxy had been selling some limited amounts of fertilizers to the Chinese for a number of years. Two years ago the Chinese gave us an urgent call for immediate delivery of 50,000 tons of urea. The only urea we had on hand at the time was furnished by the Soviet Union.

It was a exercise in business diplomacy to tell the Chinese of the source of the urea supply and to inform the Russians of the intended customer. Both the Chinese and the Russians approved the deal and we proceeded with delivery. These sales are continuing on an expanded scale.

A Texas rodeo and barbecue is an unlikely place to begin a business relationship between one of the largest United States corporations and the most populous nation in the world, but that is where it began in 1979. The occasion was Mr. Deng's whirlwind visit to the United States. It was in Houston, and a number of oil executives gathered to meet Mr. Deng. When my turn came to be introduced, Mr. Deng interrupted the interpreter to say:

"No introduction is necessary for Dr. Hammer. We know him in China



as the American who helped Lenin. Why don't you come to China and help us as well?"

I told him I would be happy to do so, but it would be difficult at my age unless I could fly in on my own corporate jet. I understood that private jets were not allowed to fly into China.

"It can be arranged," the deputy chairman replied. "You send me a cable when you are ready to come."

The cable was dispatched shortly thereafter and within two months, I and other Occidental officials were in Peking for a seven-day trip during which we signed four preliminary agreements.

Our main interest was oil, of course, since China's offshore petroleum reserves may be the last great untapped major basin in the world. One month after our first visit to China I hosted a reception in Los Angeles for a visiting Chinese delegation led by Kang Shien, chief of the State Economic Commission, and Song Zhenming, Minister of Petroleum. It was at this meeting where Mr. Kang confirmed his invitation to Occidental to participate in seismic studies of seven of the eight Chinese areas set aside for foreign oil exploration and for Oxy to be the first foreign oil company to visit Chinese inland basins. Once again, when the top levels from both sides are involved, things move at a faster pace.

The next major milestone in China

trade will be the award of the offshore oil exploration leases in the Yellow and South China Seas, to be determined by the end of this year. At Oxy we have done our homework and we plan to be active in the bidding process.

On the final day of my latest visit I met with Mr. Deng in the Great Hall. I have been very impressed with Mr. Deng's pragmatism and his efforts to liberalize economic endeavors by private enterprise within China, to streamline the bureaucracy and to encourage foreign investors. Today most of the Chinese ride on bicycles and some few on motorcycles. I predict that within 10 years, many will be riding in their own automobiles.

At our meeting, we also talked about Taiwan and here Mr. Deng made it plain that there could be no compromise on the sale of arms to Taiwan by the United States. Still, the deputy chairman stated that although Chinese-American relations would be influenced by the Taiwan matter, business relationships would not be affected as far as China is concerned.

As American businessmen look closer at their prospects for China trade, I believe that they will find the opportunities and potential rewards outweigh the risks. But like any good salesman, you have to know the territory.

THE WEEK IN BUSINESS

Producer Prices Dip Again; the Deficit Swells

Producer prices fell by a tenth of a percent in March, matching February's decline and marking the first time since 1976 that wholesale prices have been off for two months in a row. Some analysts are lowering their projections on the inflation rate this year to as little as 4.5 percent.

The budget deficit for fiscal year 1983 was revised by the Reagan Administration to \$101.9 billion — \$10.4 billion more than the President predicted two months ago. The President's advisers still see a strong business rebound later this year.

Transfer to the states of welfare and food-stamp programs has been given up for now by the Administration. A Federal takeover of Medicaid costs was to have been part of the "new federalism" plan.

Bankruptcies were foreseen for "one or two" major corporations by Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige because of the nation's current economic difficulties.

Savings and loan associations reported widening losses. Nearly 85 percent of the institutions incurred deficits in the second half of last year, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board said.

New-car sales rose 26.8 percent in the last 10-day selling period of March, the Big Three companies reported.

No License for Hefner

Playboy Enterprises has until Tuesday to decide whether it wants to sever its ties with its founder and principal owner, Hugh Hefner (right), or forgo operation of a casino in Atlantic City. The decision was put to Playboy by the New Jersey Casino Control Commission, which ruled last week that the company was unfit to run a casino unless it cut its ties to Mr. Hefner. Playboy plans a court appeal. The commission voted 3-2 in favor of Mr. Hefner and the company, but that was one short of the four needed to obtain a casino license. Mr. Hefner has a 69 percent interest in Playboy, which in turn has a 45.7 percent interest in the Playboy Hotel and Casino.



G.M. workers approved a new contract that is expected to save the company \$2.5 billion over the next 30 months. The pact, which grants concessions to G.M., was voted by a thin margin.

The money supply increased by \$900 million in the latest reporting week, the Federal Reserve said.

Stocks rose moderately. The Dow Jones industrial average closed Thursday at 842.94, up 4.37 points on the week.

London stocks plunged in reaction to the British-Argentine dispute over the Falkland Islands. The market lost \$4.42 billion Monday, its heaviest one-day loss this year.

Chemical New York reported a 15.4 percent rise in net operating earnings in the first quarter.

Major banks will link automatic teller operations to broaden service to their customers. The 26-member group includes Bank of America, Chase Manhattan and Continental Illinois.

U.S. Steel plans to freeze its list prices on sheet steel products for the rest of the year. Analysts linked the move to G.M.'s plan to begin buying its steel through a bid system.

General Electric said profits rose 5 percent in the first quarter. B.P. Oil reported a \$224.3 million loss in 1981. MGM Film said it lost \$5 million in its second quarter ended Feb. 28.

Norcen Energy sought Hanna Mining in a \$171 million bid. Hanna sued to block the offer.

Phelps Dodge is suspending domestic copper operations at least until June 1 because of depressed price.

Retail chain stores reported poor results in March. Penney, Montgomery Ward and Woolworth said sales were below 1981 levels. Sears reported an increase of only 2.1 percent.

Checker Motors says it is ending production of taxis in July.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED APRIL 8, 1982

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Houlin	4,852,300	19 1/2	+ 1/4
Exxon	2,794,800	28 1/2	- 1/4
Schiltz	2,720,000	15 1/2	+ 1/4
ATT	2,276,800	55 1/2	- 1/4
Goodyr	2,214,700	21 1/2	- 1/4
IBM	2,205,300	62 1/2	+ 1/4
Sony Cp	1,955,300	13 1/2	- 1/4
U Oil Cal	1,924,800	34 1/2	+ 1/4
St O Ind	1,860,900	41 1/2	+ 1/4
Mobil	1,810,800	21 1/2	- 1/4
G Mot	1,590,500	42 1/2	+ 1/4
RCA	1,543,700	22 1/2	- 1/4
St Oil Cl	1,505,400	32 1/2	- 1/4
Clitcrp	1,429,500	27 1/2	+ 1/4
Tandy	1,349,500	32 1/2	+ 1/4

MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	1,155	1,288
Declines	850	559
Total Issues	2,072	2,107
New Highs	76	75
New Lows	50	80

VOLUME

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	203,436,050	3,531,243,773
Same Per. 1981	253,381,522	3,356,065,163

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

	High	Low	Last	Change
New York Stock Exchange				
Index	75.57	74.11	75.52	+0.84
Transp	58.42	56.87	58.35	+1.51
Utilities	39.02	38.71	38.94	+0.11
Finance	71.84	70.48	71.84	+1.05
Composite	66.92	65.76	66.99	+0.67

Standard & Poor's

	129.8	128.2	129.0	+1.16
40 Industrials				
20 Transp	19.2	18.2	19.0	+0.57
40 Utilities	53.7	52.8	53.5	+0.18
40 Financials	14.8	14.3	14.7	+0.22
500 Stocks	116.9	113.7	116.2	+1.10

Dow Jones

	847.5	827.9	842.9	+4.37
30 Industrials				
20 Transp	351.6	335.9	348.8	+9.43
15 Utilities	111.1	109.5	110.5	+0.32
65 Comb	334.6	325.2	332.6	+3.81

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED APRIL 8, 1982

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
DomeP	920,900	8	+ 1/4
GfC	560,600	11 1/2	+ 1/4
WangB	447,700	30 1/2	+ 1/4
VsaE	435,700	2 1/2	- 1/4
HouOT	371,000	13 1/2	- 1/4
KeyPh	353,400	25 1/2	+ 1/4
HornHr	302,000	15 1/2	+ 1/4
IntgEn	288,600	2 1/2	+ 1/4
Matrix	274,900	20 1/2	+ 1/4
Elainor	265,400	8 1/2	+ 1/4

MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	437	460
Declines	313	317
Total Issues	919	930
New Highs	20	20
New Lows	28	38

VOLUME

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	15,255,080	296,048,315
Same Per. 1981	23,024,400	362,328,945

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher
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How Much Is Enough?

What now passes for a "debate" of nuclear strategies is understandably passionate, but it is becoming romantic, confused, even irrelevant.

The spreading anxiety owes something to the insensitive diplomacy of the Reagan Administration. But a more telling criticism is that the ferment caught it off balance. It has been worrying about having too few nuclear weapons just when many people concluded it already has too many.

Still, the rhetorical techniques of the opposition are hollow. With the future of arms control in the balance, the Russians can think of nothing better than cheap propaganda against the United States, as though they bear no responsibility in the arms race. Western politicians leap to the front of the disarmament parade with barren formulas to freeze the race. And the champions of "humanism" cry enough is enough; they want survival in this world but are unwilling to engage the problems that poses.

The problems are "How much is enough?" and "Enough for what?"

Secretary of State Haig says enough means enough to deter the use of nuclear weapons anytime, anywhere. And that means a capacity to respond with such devastation that war between the superpowers cannot be a rational policy. This balance of terror has worked, he observes, for 36 years. And since even a non-nuclear war would be the most destructive in history, such deterrence is "pre-eminently moral."

Deterrence is immoral, contends Jonathan Schell in a touted tract, "The Fate of the Earth." Lending voice to a widening circle of concern, he thinks no conceivable value of civilization is worth defending by means that threaten an end of civilization. If deterrence fails, as he thinks it eventually will, there's no second chance for humanity.

How much, for him, is enough? Mr. Schell can't be bothered with policy. Having confirmed, at numbing length, that nukes are dangerous, he airily departs for higher ground. The planet must be purged of nuclear weapons and the way to do that is to invent a higher allegiance than the war-making sovereign state. Let conflicts be settled without violence through global law — or dictatorship or religion — he's too worked up to dwell on details.

But the rest of us are left in the real world, stuck with the only available alternative to catastrophe. Deterrence it will have to be. But how much is enough to deter?

The answer lies not in the number of weapons but in their capacity. A relatively modest number, long since surpassed, is enough if there were no way to limit or avoid their devastation. The surer the threatened catastrophe, the greater the odds that no one will risk it.

But deterrence is breaking down, says the Reagan team, because the Russians have built weapons that could destroy much of our retaliatory force. And that, it is feared, will enable them to impose a "nuclear ultimatum" that leaves the bitter choice of ac-

cepting a terrible blow or responding in ways that end civilized life.

Don't ask for proof of this American "vulnerability." Its theoretical possibility was too quickly conceded by past Administrations and has become a psychological fact. Mr. Reagan thinks there are only two possible responses and he straddles them both: match the Russians in such diplomatically "usable" weaponry or get them to abandon theirs.

To match the Russians means building more weapons that will be harder for them to hit and that also threaten to hit more of theirs. "Hit my missiles only and I'll hit your missiles only." Stripped of cant, this is a desperate doctrine to justify a "limited" nuclear war — limited to appalling but supposedly survivable levels.

But President Reagan says he understands that this doctrine is the enemy of deterrence. Once nuclear war appears survivable, it again becomes thinkable. So he hopes, after showing the Russians some of his new missiles, to get them to concede the danger and negotiate them out of existence. He thinks Moscow won't listen until then because Jimmy Carter failed in one brief approach and settled for a treaty that failed to stop the race.

Mr. Reagan did not invent this competition for weapons of "limited" war, but he has surely invited the pressures he is now getting by delaying diplomacy and choosing at least some advisers who trust no agreements, only hardware.

And now come four distinguished strategists with a rude reminder that America, too, has been promoting ideas of "limited" nuclear war — in a European conflict. To calm and better defend Europe, say McGeorge Bundy, George Kennan, Robert McNamara and Gerard Smith, America should reverse its policy of three decades and promise never to use nuclear weapons first.

Whatever its specific merit in alliance strategy, this proposal has a larger value: its skepticism about "limiting" any nuclear war. Even one weapon that begs to be used, by promising something less than world-wide holocaust, is too much.

Both superpowers have more than enough nuclear weapons if they were satisfied that life-ending devastation is their only purpose. Regulate the character of the weapons and you can finally begin to reduce their number. There is no alternative to deterrence with some number of these awful weapons. And no matter how unsettling the risk of catastrophe in 20 minutes, it has kept the industrial world at peace for the longest stretch in this century.

The freeze movement creates welcome pressure for negotiation. But the preoccupation with numbers evades the main problem. Enough weapons must finally mean enough to keep nuclear war unthinkable, unmanageable, unsurvivable. The imperative now is to resume the diplomacy to define those terms and to forbid the weapons that defy them. That done, the arms race can subside. Unless it is done, there will never be enough.

Resurrection

There were landslides in California and floods in the Middle West, freezes in Florida and untimely blizzards all over. But a month or so ago the sun started to hang around a little longer; scilla and crocuses, against all reason, began to shoulder their way out of the mud. Spring, defying blast and chill, was making its usual insolent entrance.

Insolent because spring is boldly disrespectful of death. The dry twig bursts into leaf; the dulled senses are twitched by a change in the air; the man walks away from his tomb. As long as the world spins around the sun, resurrection is the rule. No wonder we, who watch the earth come back to life

every year, believe we will too. Aren't we, after all, part of the same stuff?

We can imagine the death of our selves, but not of our kind. . . . know we can be conquered by water, wind and fire but stay in command of what we creatures have made. A million pleas, for instance, can't stop a single drop of rain, but man's good will alone could keep a bomb from ever punishing our planet. The elements won't come on call — but human wisdom will.

May mankind work towards wisdom. May spring continue insolent. May resurrection remain the rule.

Topics

Oil, Ice and Hot Air

A Carter Legacy

Oh, all of us critics had a time of it in 1979 when President Carter set his dramatic new energy goal for the country. "Beginning this moment," he said in a televised address on July 15, "this nation will never use more foreign oil than we did in 1977. Never. From now on every new addition to our demand for energy will be met from our own production and our own conservation." That meant never again importing more than 8.5 million barrels of oil a day.

The experts' reaction was polite, but they plainly thought the goal unlikely, even preposterous. This page found the end worthy but wondered why Mr. Carter did not ask for stronger means. A leading oil company economist said there was no way to meet that ceiling "without real economic sacrifice." A Republican energy planner thought it would take the best of luck; more likely, "Imports could be in the range of 12 million to 16 million barrels by 1985."

Now there is a sequel. The official Weekly Petroleum Status Report for April 2 has just arrived. It gives the import figure for the four weeks ending March 26, 1982: 3.5 million barrels — 5 million below the Carter promise. That amazing gain does not reflect

entirely good news. A good part of it is surely attributable to recession, and more to working off inventories now that oil prices have sagged. Still, much of the gain is attributable to Mr. Carter's decontrolling oil prices to spur conservation. The figure of 3.5 million barrels may now persuade all those who then saw high oil prices as the problem to concede they were also the solution.

Cold Wars

It is not only the weather that has recently turned chilly; consider the language of the day. Last month, responding to the President's call for budget alternatives, Senator Hollings of South Carolina proposed holding fast on defense spending and cost-of-living raises in social programs. A freeze, he called it. Meanwhile, rising public concern about nuclear weapons — Ban the Bomb, the movement used to be called — goes by the same name: freeze. And now, responding to the Falklands incursion, the British have unleashed their economic guns. They are freezing Argentine assets.

According to the calendar, it's spring, Easter. According to political idiom, it's a new Ice Age.

Promising Politicians

Until the Supreme Court ruled otherwise last week, a candidate for local office in Kentucky could deliver but couldn't promise. The state's corrupt practices act said that candidates may not promise anything of value "to any person in consideration of the vote or financial or moral support of that person."

Carl Brown of Louisville, running for county commissioner on an economy ticket, pledged to reduce his salary by \$3,000 if elected. He won, but his opponent sued and had the election nullified under the act on grounds that candidate Brown had made an illegal promise.

The Supreme Court made short work of Kentucky's law as interpreted by courts there. Justice William Brennan said Mr. Brown's public pledge could in no way be likened to a criminal bribe offer — at least not while the First Amendment prevails in American elections. But what if the Court had ruled the other way? Could a Presidential candidate forfeit the election for promising lower taxes, greater prosperity, fairness to the poor and cheaper government? Now that campaign vows are immune again in Kentucky and elsewhere, what about laws that require winners to keep their word?

Letters

More Than Honor and Oil in a Falklands War

To the Editor:

A useful guide for settling the controversy over the Falkland Islands may be found in Great Britain's initiative to resolve a 1921 territorial dispute regarding the Aaland Islands, which lie between Finland and Sweden.

Despite their proximity to Finland, the 27,000 Aalanders professed allegiance to Sweden, with which they shared cultural and ethnic ties. When tension flared between the competing countries, it was Britain that brought the problem to the Council of the League of Nations.

The Council recommended that Finland's *de jure* sovereignty be recognized in exchange for its guarantees that the cultural rights of the Aalanders would be respected. The Council made clear that if the parties failed to reach agreement, the Council itself would set the terms and see to their enforcement.

It worked, and they all lived happily ever after.

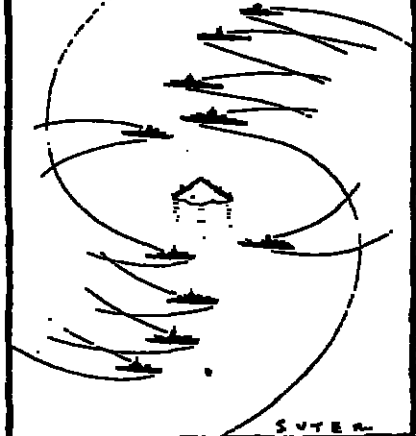
If the Falkland dispute is not resolved by diplomacy very soon, the United Nations Security Council should intervene to eliminate what it recognizes to be a threat to peace. It should be made clear to all parties involved that failure to comply with the Council's specific recommendations for settlement will be met by the collective sanctions of the international community.

BENJAMIN B. FERENCZ
New Rochelle, N.Y., April 4, 1982
The writer is an international lawyer.

To the Editor:

President Reagan has shown Argentina just how weak he can be in an effort to seem strong.

Argentina has as much claim to the Falkland Islands as the countries of



Europe and America now have to Iceland. Argentina's exercise in "colonial liberation" is a move to liberate nothing but oil and gas deposits — and to trample on the plain consent of the inhabitants.

President Reagan might have met Argentina's invasion plan with an ultimatum, and he just might have given Argentina an excuse to cancel that plan.

The President could still pledge to seek American military support for the British cause from Congress, and

he would thereby reduce the chance of bloodshed. If a battle comes, the British will fight it anyway. American support would at most give the Argentine dictatorship another chance to abandon the venture as hopeless.

The irony is that Mr. Reagan has gone soft on Argentina because he wants to seem tough on the Soviet Union. He wants Argentine help in a dubious policy of manipulating the civil wars of Central America. The result is that in pursuit of a cause that is at best gray he ignores one that is black and white.

MIKE SHENEFELT
New York, April 4, 1982

To the Editor:

Although we have heard much recently about the application of our Monroe Doctrine to those situations involving alleged designs of European nations upon the Western Hemisphere, it was not surprising — in view of our long history of Anglophilia — to note that Mr. Reagan and some of our press are inclined to the side of a colonizer from way back.

One would have thought that here was an excellent opportunity to foster the theme of the doctrine and to — politely but firmly — usher out a last vestige of colonialism from this part of the world. Surely by now Great Britain has grown accustomed to shrinking pains.

The oil, you say?
CHARLES O'BOYLE
Woodside, N.Y., April 4, 1982

To the Editor:

In his April 5 column, William Safire quoted a "famed geopoliticalist" anticipating that this would be "a war between two civilized nations. . . . Wow."

Mr. Safire assesses the situation and concludes that such a war will end with "something for everybody — with the most important something the retention of national honor." His parting words: "Good sailing, Maggie."

Mr. Safire has revealed an uncivilized blood lust. This proper little war has already claimed three lives and could take many more. These are not flag-waving the soldiers, fallen in defense of "national honor," but young men with parts of their all-too-fragile bodies ripped to pieces; flesh torn apart amid blood and bits of gore. These are children screaming in pain, fathers who leave their families and a soon-forgotten generation of walking wounded.

As Mr. Safire stands at the berth, waiting on Mrs. Thatcher — who is not sailing at all; she is issuing the order which she hopes, with the rattling of her saber, will save her political career — let him ponder for just a moment the possible cost in lives and suffering of this avoidable little conflict. These boys may be chewed up on a battlefield, far from home, in the hollow name of "national honor," but truth is they shall have died defending Britain's dubious claim to offshore oil.

JESSE LEVINE
Brooklyn, April 5, 1982

To the Editor:

Is it a mere oversight or another reflection of the hypocrisy of the Communist world and many of the third-world nations that none of them greeted Argentina's invasion of the Falkland Islands with an outcry for the self-determination of the islands' population?

Or is the right to self-determination the exclusive property of Communist and third-world partisans, not to be exercised by Falklanders expected to opt for remaining British?

H. WILLIAM GALLAND
Islip, L.I., April 4, 1982

The Dangers of 'Pre-Nuclear Math'

To the Editor:

I'm prompted by the direction of the current defense debate to sound an alarm: Parity is pure poppycock.

Following the Presidential news conference of April 1, Senator Kennedy aptly labeled the strategy of "parity first, freeze later" as "voodoo arms control," oddly reminiscent of the mirror-image Reagan strategy of "less government first, more prosperity later." The approach rests on at least three notions that doom it to failure:

It first assumes accuracy for the claim that the Soviets are ahead in an arms race which is beyond rational measurement and, some claim, even human control.

It further assumes that the Soviets, against our own logic and their "best interests," will sit by while we rearm "to achieve parity" — a rhetorical ex-

cuse which in their view (and in some of ours here) masks true intentions behind a fantastically large nuclear and conventional weapons buildup.

Third, the proposed solution by President Reagan is built upon the same equation that got us here: More guns equals more security. That's been the equation for several millennia. Because it represents the best that pre-nuclear math can provide, its dangerous implications should be made clear to one and all.

When will we see leaders emerge who understand the new math, who stop looking in the mirror of the Soviet Union and start recognizing that we both are ahead and both far behind?

GORDON FELLER
Executive Director
Planetary Citizens
New York, April 5, 1982

Student Loans — With Pay-Back Insurance

To the Editor:

The debate over Federal aid to college students is conducted in seemingly irreconcilable terms. On the one hand, we have the national interest, which demands an educated population and students who face ever-rising costs that threaten to make private higher education the preserve of the rich. On the other, we have the rising Federal deficits that threaten the economy and we have a tax-paying public outraged at stories of cynical defaults on student loans.

It is time to think of other approaches than the present bureaucratic maze of disparate and uncoordinated programs.

Why not Government loans, freely available to students up to some realistic limit, at current Treasury interest rates, to be repaid via Federal income-tax returns, the accounts being handled in conjunction with the student's Social Security account? As a set percentage surcharge on

tax on existing income, the repayment would automatically be geared to the person's income in a given year. The use of realistic interest rates would insure student care in contracting loans. Tying the system to Social Security accounts would preclude defaults.

One might also consider making the repayment a feature of one's Social Security contributions, calculated on some actuarial basis.

Hence, students striking it rich in their careers would repay considerably more than their loan, while those in less remunerative occupations may end up carrying a smaller burden.

The program can certainly be self-financing, involve a minimum of new bureaucracy and insure repayment in terms commensurate with an individual's financial situation.

IGOR KOPYTOFF
Philadelphia, April 3, 1982
The writer is professor of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania.

Mergers Are the Better Cure for Ailing Thrift Institutions

To the Editor:

The president of the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, Saul B. Klamman, challenged your March 25 editorial "Don't Squander on Thrifts" in a March 30 letter.

You had said that most troubled thrift institutions would resolve their problems through consolidation into larger, healthier and more efficient firms. Mr. Klamman argued to the contrary, that such "supervisory mergers" involve substantial Federal outlays, "whereas measures that preserve existing firms intact 'will save billions of dollars.'"

This divergence of views can be explained: The Times and Mr. Klamman were not discussing the same policies. Your editorial referred to the assisted merger policies of the Federal regulatory agencies as they have actually been carried out during the past 15 months. The figures Mr. Klamman cited, which were prepared for his association by Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates, are based on unrealistic perception of how such assistance programs work.

Although most troubled thrift institutions can resolve their difficulties without Government intervention, Wharton assumed that all would receive Federal assistance equivalent to that actually paid in only the most extreme cases of financial distress. Moreover, any tax savings or efficiency gains from merger are not counted.

This process leads, in the Wharton scenario, to 769 thrift mergers costing

the Government \$84 billion over the next three years.

But that is not how the program works in practice. Last year, 337 Federally insured thrifts were merged out of existence. Of these, roughly half were troubled institutions, yet only 30 required any Federal assistance, and the total net cost was under \$2 billion. Even with the spate of supervisory mergers so far this year, most thrift acquisitions have not involved any Federal funding.

These amounts are consistent with the results of my own research, published recently in "The Plight of the Thrift Institutions." I found that an assistance policy relying primarily on mergers would have a total net cost of under \$9 billion. Since this amount, paid out at the rate of \$1 billion to \$2 billion per year, would be sufficient to protect insured deposits and maintain the viability of the financial system, larger subsidies cannot be justified.

Federal warehousing of low-yield mortgages, cited by Mr. Klamman as "the least costly alternative," would cost \$40 billion over three years as envisioned in the Wharton paper. This is substantially more than the \$4 billion to \$5 billion per year mentioned in the

editorial and even exceeds the \$7.5 billion annual cost estimated by the savings bank association when it proposed the mortgage warehousing program last month.

One can perhaps read in Mr. Klamman's comments the argument that merger is not the remedy for every troubled thrift. Indeed, the regulatory agencies are compelled by law to consider all alternatives, including "open bank" assistance and liquidation, in selecting the proper means of resolving each case.

These agencies also recognize that an institution whose balance sheet looks dismal by standard accounting criteria may have good prospects for long-run viability, and that describes many troubled savings banks. They can and should be nurtured back to health.

But the facts of the current crisis show that the Government's assisted merger policy has been and will continue to be the most cost-effective and least disruptive means of rescuing the majority of problem thrift institutions.

ANDREW S. CARRON
Washington, April 5, 1982
The writer is a research associate at the Brookings Institution.



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Brittania Waves The Rules

By Jan Morris

FORT WORTH, Tex. — The course of empire never did run smooth, but much the hardest part of the perennial old human adventure is bringing it to a conclusion. The French endured two terrible wars, in Indochina and Algeria, before they could be rid of their imperial pretensions. The Portuguese had a revolution. The experience of the British, upon whose overseas territories the sun proverbially never set, has generally been more trying than lacerating, but still the preposterous impasse they have got themselves into over the Falkland Islands is a warning to any aspirant imperialist that in the long run dominion is seldom worth it.

Consider the cost and the embarrassment of the imbroglio. To honor their commitment to 1,800 subjects of the Crown, most of them several generations removed from their homeland, the British are spending more on the dispatch of their formidable task force than they invested in Falkland Island development, I would guess, in several decades. They stand to suffer appalling humiliations if the mission fails; if it succeeds, they won't know what to do next; and it must be a moot point anyway whether the unfortunate islanders, however loyal they remain to the British Way of Life, really want to find themselves caught in the cross-fire of a liberation war.

The affair ridiculously engages a sizeable proportion of the entire Royal Navy at a time when Mrs. Thatcher herself claims the Soviet sea threat to be more ominous than ever. It has brought out aspects of Britishness, from machismo to jingoism or plain pomposity, that we were mercifully beginning to forget. It is frighteningly demonstrated that even the most mature of nations, if goaded to it, will still fall back upon brute force to pursue what it conceives to be its own interests.

Of course there is a quixotic splendor to the operation — spending so much, taking such risks, for the sake of a principle and a loyalty (and only a potential offshoot). Lord Palmerston himself, the most belligerent of Victorian Prime Ministers, never sent out his gunboats with such punch or panache, or for that matter in such numbers. The Argentines were clearly wrong to invade the islands; the Falklanders deserve better; the British were right to intervene; but a call to honor after many long years of humdrum. I doubt myself if it will come

to a shooting war; but it might. And if it does, it will be a historical tragedy of a certain wistful nobility, a plausibly anomalous expression of imperial pride and grandeur, a generation or two after its time.

For like it or not, it is anomalous that in the 1980's the Falkland Islands should be British. It really does not make much sense. The British themselves half recognize the fact or they would not have spent the last 14 years negotiating with the Argentines about the future of the islands. But their premise had evidently been that whatever arrangements are reached British sovereignty must be upheld — whereas in my view they should have long ago admitted that British sovereignty was expendable. Their true duty to the Falklanders was not to encourage them in their romantic but impracticable allegiance, but to prepare them gently but firmly for inevitable change. The islanders might well have been offered resettlement in Britain, if they preferred it to Argentine rule or some sort of joint control. They should certainly have been acclimated to the idea that the Falklands could not remain attached forever to a European offshore island state 8,000 miles away, with no permanent rights or duties in the far-flung reaches of the South Atlantic.

No such permanent rights or duties, indeed, anywhere away from home — for there are disturbing parallels still elsewhere in the old British Empire. In Ulster, too, loyalists seek to resist history and geography, and there too the British accommodate the anachronism, partly out of duty, partly out of pride. One day the Fleet may have to rescue Gibraltar, the Falkland Island of Spain, or Hong Kong, the Port Stanley of China. There is even a faint ironic echo of the predicament in my own country, Wales, so close to London, where after 700 years of Crown rule English settlers increasingly find their holiday homes burned down by intransigent Welsh nationalists.

For the truth is that when an empire loses its power or its conviction, its remaining possessions generally become a burden and sometimes a danger. They may be useful for a time, as currency-earners, as naval bases, as props to the national self-esteem, but in the end they are likely to become, like those bare sheep-run islands on the other side of the world, a perfect nuisance. There is only one way to stop the crows of an old empire coming home to roost: Make a clean break of it, forget about the gunboats and the distant flags, wipe away those tears of glory. Stop quoting Kipling and Queen Victoria and make it clear to everyone, friend or foe, that the sun really has set.

In the meantime, well, even we Welsh patriots are only human. Good luck to you, Broad Sword and Invincible, Sir Galahad and Superb!

Jan Morris is author of "Pax Britannica," a trilogy about the British Empire.

Assessing Reagan's Domsday Scenario

By Hans A. Bethe and Kurt Gottfried

ITHACA, N.Y. — Rarely, if ever, has the government of a great power proclaimed its vulnerability to devastating attack by a dangerous adversary. Common sense dictates that a moral weakness should not be advertised. Yet that is what President Reagan and his aides have done: They have stated in the starkest terms that soon we shall have no credible deterrent against a Soviet first strike!

This assertion cannot mean what it says. It is, instead, a reckless move to marshal support for new weapons that are intended to regain the nuclear superiority America once enjoyed. Let us look at the facts. The United States has three strategic forces that can drop 9,500 hydrogen bombs into the Soviet Union. Of these, 23 percent are on land-based missiles (intercontinental ballistic missiles), some 52 percent on submarine-launched missiles, and 25 percent on intercontinental bombers. The Soviet Union can launch about 7,000 hydrogen bombs at us; of these, 79 percent are on ICBMs, 20 percent in submarines, and 1 percent on aircraft. Our missiles are considerably more accurate, and the Soviet Union has compensated for this by building larger warheads.

The Russians have put most of their nuclear "eggs" into one basket — land-based missiles. They were forced to do so because of their technological backwardness and geographical position. Their submarines are inferior to ours; they have no bomber bases close to us, while ours encircle the Soviet Union; and they have not been able to develop cruise missiles, which are now revitalizing our bomber fleet. Their ICBM force is so large because that is all they can do well.

Should present trends continue, the Soviet Union will have more accurate ICBMs in a few years. By that time, however, many of our submarines will be able to destroy Soviet missiles in their silos.

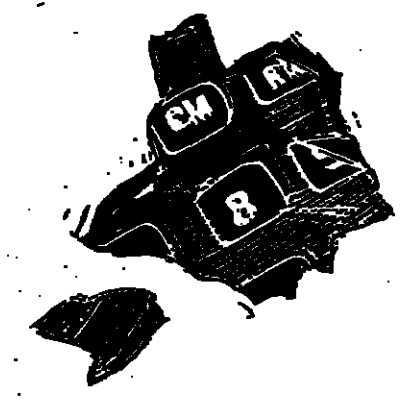
It is against this background that one must assess the Reagan doomsday scenario: The new Soviet missiles will be able to eliminate our ICBMs in a bolt from the blue; we would not be able to retaliate because enough Soviet weapons would survive our counterattack to devastate the United States; thus, we would have no choice but to yield to all Soviet demands.

This scenario pretends that United States and Soviet ICBMs face each other in a universe decoupled from the real world. It assumes that these highly complex systems, which have only been tested individually in a quiet environment, would perform their myriad tasks in perfect harmony during the most cataclysmic battle of history; that our weapons will not improve, while the Soviet Union's leap ahead. It assumes that we would be helpless when well over half our nuclear warheads have survived, and that a Soviet attack on our ICBMs, which would kill at least 20 million Americans by radioactive fallout, would not provoke us into pulverizing the Soviet Union with our submarines. Only madmen would contemplate such a gamble. Whatever else they may be, the Soviet leaders are not madmen.

What then is the true rationale for the Administration's stance? Judging from many statements by some of its most prominent figures, the public must conclude that there is a significant faction in the Administration that believes in and aspires to nuclear superiority. This group contends that our technological and economic prowess make this a realistic goal and that its attainment would yield rich political dividends.

Neither of these conclusions is correct, as post-1945 history demonstrates. For two decades, we were immune to Soviet nuclear attack while the Russians lay at our mercy. Did that vulnerability deter them from blockading Berlin, absorbing Czechoslovakia, crushing the revolt in Hungary? On the contrary, it impelled them to a dangerous attempt to place missiles in Cuba in a futile effort to gain some semblance of a deterrent. It imbued them with the determination to build a credible nuclear force, whatever the cost. And only when they reached that goal did they begin to negotiate seriously, as exemplified by SALT I.

The "window of vulnerability" to a Soviet first strike does not exist. In reality, the security of all inhabitants of the Northern Hemisphere is eroding because of the irresponsible policies of both superpowers. While millions of ordinary citizens have come to recognize that security is not measured in



megatons, those in positions of power continue to act as if nuclear weapons were spears or shotguns.

If the President wishes to close the true "window of vulnerability," he should pay close heed to his aroused constituents. His personal prestige and political record give him a historically unique opportunity to lead us in entirely new directions.

Hans A. Bethe, who won the 1967 Nobel Prize in Physics, is professor of physics emeritus at Cornell University. Kurt Gottfried, professor of physics and nuclear studies there, is a member of the board of directors of the Union of Concerned Scientists. Henry W. Kendall, professor of physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and chairman of the Union, helped prepare this article.

Fight or Negotiate?

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, April 10 — The basic question in the dispute between Britain and Argentina over the Falkland Islands is whether it should be settled by military means. All other questions are secondary to this, and on this question, Washington is on the side of the British.

If Argentina can settle its geographic and historic dispute with Britain by force of arms, if the Soviets can invade Afghanistan, or the Israelis can bomb the Iraq nuclear facilities or attack Lebanon again — all in defense of "national security" — there will be no order in the world and no security for anybody.

The crisis over the Falkland Islands is a symbol of this much larger issue. If Argentina's attempt to displace the British in the Falklands isn't opposed by the United States and the United Nations, how long will it be before Spain is using force to get the British out of Gibraltar, and before all the nations with border disputes are using force to settle their differences?

This is the point Secretary of State Haig has been trying to make to the leaders of the military Government in Argentina. Namely, if they don't submit to the United Nations resolution to withdraw and negotiate a settlement there will, probably within a few days, be war with the British, and tragic consequences for all concerned.

Fortunately, if there must be a war between Britain and Argentina, which makes more sense than sense, there is something to be said for the leisurely way they are both approaching the first shot.

It was odd that Argentina, which has been complaining about the British occupation of the islands for over 130 years, and negotiating to recover them for 17 years, should have chosen to take them over by force of arms as a moral right, on Holy Week, of all times.

And it was typical that the British would, after a long weekend of reflection in the country, have decided to send what's left of the Royal Navy on a long 8,000-mile stroll to define the watery 200-mile battleground and defend their Scottish shepherds, who want nothing more than to be left alone by the politicians in both London and Buenos Aires.

This is the way wars, if we have to have them, should probably be started or avoided: not with a bang, but with time to consider the causes and consequences. The guess here is that some kind of compromise will be worked out, before or after the British nuclear submarines put a torpedo into some wayward Argentine ship.

The Argentine generals, who are not notorious for leading the woman's liberation movement, could easily misjudge Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister. She has not been named the "Iron Lady" by accident. She has commended herself and her Government to defend the Falklands, and if she has to choose between fighting and being humiliated and defeated, there is little doubt that she will give the order to fight, and have the support of President Reagan if she does.

Lately, the Soviet Government has come to the aid of the Argentine generals, proclaiming that the British are defending a colonial empire which long ago they gave up. With the support of Moscow in this fight, the Argentine Government is almost sure to lose the support of the Washington Government if it is trying to secure.

Even so, there are grounds for believing that a political compromise is possible and even likely. Argentina officials here in Washington are talking about an international administration of the islands — run by a troika of Argentine-British-U.S. officials, or by some other international administrative organization put together by the Organization of American States or the United Nations.

Everything, the Argentinians say, is negotiable except the ultimate sovereignty of these islands by Argentina. They will make a deal to share with the British the exploitation of the oil and fishery rights in the waters around the islands. They will even postpone the question of sovereignty, provided that, eventually, they are assured of control of the islands.

On this basis, there is the chance of a resolution of the crisis, but with warships on both sides approaching the defined 200-mile battleground, time is obviously running out. Secretary of State Haig is insisting that the first move must be Argentina's acceptance of the United Nations resolution that it must withdraw its invasion forces and then negotiate.

He is making clear, as I understand it, that the United States cannot oppose the principle of self-determination for the Falkland Islanders, who want to remain British, or support the use of force by Argentina to achieve their political ends. Otherwise, he is insisting, the United States would be encouraging the use of force in the Middle East and all over the world, making things even worse than they now are. And Mr. Haig already has more trouble than any reasonable man would be expected to handle.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Humpty Dumpty Again

By Flora Lewis

BEIRUT, Lebanon, April 10 — Tremendous tension has built up in Lebanon. A heavy Israeli strike and perhaps a massive invasion is expected any day.

But people aren't doing much about it. They have lived with daily terror for so long and tried so many supposed remedies that only made matters worse that they can hardly think of anything beyond special prayers. This is an ultimate example of what violence and intimidation bring to a society and the corrosive results of imagining they can solve problems.

Officially, the policy of the United States and France and other Western powers is to support the national Government and try to restore it to some authority. But it is a sham. Few people believe that the Government can be patched back on the formula for sharing power between Christians and Moslems any more than Humpty Dumpty could be put together again.

The south is already dominated by Palestinians who run an almost autonomous zone, as they run a section of Beirut where the Lebanese police and army dare not enter. The Syrian Army controls parts of the country and has heavily armed camps and check-points in the western part of the partitioned capital.

There are so many different uniformed groups wandering around that it takes a master scorecard to keep track. Practically everybody, in or out of uniform, carries a gun. The Beirut scene is an image of what has happened to the country. There is a large dead area near the port that looks like Warsaw or Berlin at the end of World War II, with acres of blackened ruins. But there are luxury restaurants and apartments not far away, and the shops still have all the good things the world can offer.

Some of the armed groups are shadowy, with uncertain political allegiances or perhaps causes forgotten in the dark underground of gang war. Diplomats have come to the conclusion that the city is now the world capital of international terrorism, headquarters for all kinds of outlaws who gravitate to a place where they can escape controls.

The old clan divisions and communalism that exploded into civil war seven years ago are breaking down into a vast web of enmity and suspicion everywhere. Many Lebanese blame the Palestinians for their troubles; some say there was a U.S. plot to liquidate the Arab-Israeli conflict by turning the south into a Palestinian

homeland and letting Syria pick off the north.

The Palestinians resent the Lebanese; most everybody resents the harsh, ruthless Syrians. Their role in crushing the civil war now seems a terrible price. A widely-known joke here is about a man who tells his friend he was just attacked in the street by three Swiss who stole his Syrian watch. "No," says the friend, "you mean three Syrians who stole your Swiss watch." "I didn't say it, you did," says the first man.

And yet an eminent doctor, a man of charm and humane culture, can say as he lights a big cigar after a hard day, "Thank heavens our smugglers still function so I can get good Cuban cigars cheap."

His is a Catholic family, but he and his wife and his son have different views and argue, though with evident affection. None of them sees any hope of solution. Yet, the mounting disgust and despair may be the one glimmer in the bleak prospect. There is a deep yearning for sanity, for quiet and rational compromise now that could signal a turning point.

But how? "If the Syrians would go away and the Palestinians were disarmed, we Lebanese could work things out for ourselves. We can get along after all," says a television producer. The ifs are too big to give cheer.

Some almost hope for an Israeli blow that would break the impasse, though it would scatter the pieces — perhaps irretrievably. Bachir Gemayel, the 34-year-old commander of Christian forces whom the Palestinians call "fascist," says he would rally behind President Elias Sarkis if the Israelis invade and help defend the country. But he also says he has plans "to take advantage" of any sudden upheaval affecting the balance of forces.

A new president is to be elected by the 10-year-old parliament this summer. That is cited as a chance for another try at reviving central government, but it's a wan. Nobody here pretends to be certain the election can be held.

So there isn't any good news from Lebanon, sad to report. The best that can be offered is a dreadful lesson in accepting a little social disintegration in the interests of one group or another, and then trying to rely on vigilante self-defense. Once frayed, the social fabric can get beyond mending.

This is a prosperous country with intelligent people, but the lack of social conscience and comity can prove as grave as poverty and ignorance.



Will They Classify Even the Alphabet?

By James C. Goodale and Lawrence M. Martin

President Reagan has signed a new executive order that vastly increases the power of Administration officials to stamp documents "classified." Intended to protect our country's secrets from falling into enemy hands, this order actually will be used to keep almost everything secret.

Such overclassification will in turn breed contempt for the classification stamp itself and encourage Government officials to leak any information that would promote their political interests.

The Presidential order is thus a bad one, and should be rescinded.

An executive order is a directive by the President to officials in the executive branch of the Government. Since World War II, Presidents have issued such orders to guide officials involved in military and foreign affairs in deciding what information to keep secret. An executive order needs no vote or even debate by Congress to gain the force of law.

Sadly, President Reagan's new order reverses two decades of painstaking efforts by Richard M. Nixon and Jimmy Carter to strengthen America's security system.

The goal has always been to limit classification to what truly threatens national security. Thus, a document was previously classified only if its disclosure would pose an "identifiable" danger to national security.

Under the new order, any vague threat will do. Similarly, the categories of classifiable information identified in the old rules were specific and clearly set out. Under the Reagan order, all "systems" or "plans" or "projects" somehow "relating to national security" can be stamped classified.

(Would interstate-highway maps thereby become classifiable? Representative Glenn L. English, chairman of the Government Information Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee thinks so.)

Finally, when a document does not really pose a threat to national security, the earlier rules allow the responsible official not to classify it. Under the new order, classification would be mandatory whenever it is at all possible.

The effect of all this classification is

no mystery. Before President Nixon began the process of tightening up classification standards, similar policies prevailed, and classification was almost automatic.

Among the thousands of documents that were classified was a history of the Vietnam War. When that document was leaked, the famous Pentagon Papers case resulted. Justice Potter Stewart of the United States Supreme Court, in his opinion in that case, summed up the unfortunate effect of lax classification policies: "when everything is classified, then nothing is classified." Anything, that is, might be leaked.

This paradoxical result is actually quite understandable. Wide powers of classification bring about the indiscriminate use of the classification stamp.

Vital national secrets are of course stamped, but so are politically embarrassing documents (such as the Pentagon Papers) or any piece of paper that seems vaguely sensitive. With so much technically secret, no one knows what is truly secret. Officials come to see the stamp as a political tool that allows them to keep secret what would hurt them and to leak what they want publicized.

Two recent events illustrate this phenomenon. In January, a White House official told The Washington Post that a Defense Department study placed the cost of the Administration's defense buildup at \$2.25 billion, rather than the \$1.5 billion that had been reported. Then, in March, a Pentagon official explained to a group of reporters "exactly how the Soviet Union could wipe out the U.S. military system with 'two or three' well directed missiles." This was done, The Daily News reported, to convince the public that a new defense program is needed. The first of these disclosures should never have been kept from the American people; the second is a vital military secret that perhaps should never have been revealed to the public. But both were officially "secrets" — and both were leaked.

With all these leaks, how can we protect our nation's security?

Again, the answer comes from Justice Stewart's opinion in the Pentagon Papers case, and again is paradoxical: "the hallmark of a truly effective system would be the maximum possible disclosure."

Only when strict standards limit classification to what truly bears on national security will the classification stamp be honored.

President Reagan should therefore summon the courage to rescind the order he has just signed, and commission another that will tighten the present system still further.

James C. Goodale, former vice chairman and general counsel of The New York Times, is a member of Debevoise & Plimpton, a New York City law firm. Lawrence M. Martin is associated with the firm.

Arts & Leisure

Why We Live in the Musical Past

By EDWARD ROTHSTEIN

We are living in a most peculiar musical age. Musical life is booming, audiences are growing, seasons are expanding, conservatories are turning out virtuosos. In New York, well over a hundred concerts are given every week. There is an extraordinary bustle and whirl in the music world and its accompanying business. But in the midst of all that activity, there is a certain stillness, an immovable center. For our musical life is based upon repetition.

In recent weeks, for example, the New York Philharmonic and the Metropolitan Opera have announced their programs for the coming season. At the Philharmonic, there are, of course, some unusual offerings. A concert performance of Janacek's "From the House of the Dead" is planned as are programs devoted to Shostakovich and to the Polish modern, Witold Lutoslawski — all reflecting growing interest in Slavic and Eastern European composers. There is also a "retrospective" of six compositions by Schoenberg planned, concentrating on his earliest music.

But the repertoire of the Philharmonic is actually dominated by familiar repeated works of the 19th-century musical tradition — including Mozart on one end and a few moderns like Rachmaninoff on the other. Out of the more than 90 compositions the Philharmonic is performing in 125 concerts with more than 35 different programs, only six works will be new to New York; three of those will be world premieres. The most heavily represented composers are Mozart, with seven works, including four popular piano concertos, and Beethoven with six works, including three familiar symphonies. Brahms is among the next most often scheduled composers, represented by the First Piano Concerto, First Symphony, Violin Concerto and Tragic Overture. Schumann is also heavily represented.

Many of the scheduled works — in-

Our institutions have become repetitive museums.

cluding Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony, Mussorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition," Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony — are the musical equivalents of "best-sellers." Each season they are repeatedly played, if not by the Philharmonic then by another local or visiting orchestra. Apart from such other 19th-century masters as Berlioz, Bruckner, Liszt, Wagner, Strauss and Dvorak, there are a few familiar "modern" works — Barber's Adagio for Strings, Debussy's "La Mer" — a few selections by other repeated moderns like Elgar, Walton, Sibelius and Bernstein, and a handful of novelties by Carter, Druckman and others.

At the Metropolitan Opera, programming is similar. There are new productions of Strauss's "Arabella," Verdi's "Macbeth" and Mozart's "Idomeneo." The acclaimed produc-



We have turned "great" composers into gods. We honor their messages with unstinting devotion at every concert.

have become an accepted part of the musical scene.

But as we know, in previous centuries new works were the rule and not the exception. Bach had a new cantata ready every Sunday. Mozart composed new concertos for his important appearances. 19th-century concert halls and opera houses thrived on premieres. Something changed in this century. The repertoire congealed. Our institutions have become repetitive museums.

There is, of course, repetition in the other arts as well. But only in music is the new so sweepingly rejected and the old so worshipfully celebrated. New plays are at the heart of every theater season, new paintings appear on living room walls with insouciant ease, fiction is read hot off the presses. To get an idea of the peculiarity of our musical life, imagine most movie theaters as re-run houses; imagine if most publishers specialized in Dickens and Thackeray.

Still more peculiar is the restricted historical range of our musical life. The 19th-century supplies nearly all of our repertoire. For most audiences, the Baroque era is worth only an occasional visit, the Renaissance is a novelty, the Middle Ages an eccentricity.

Of course, the 19th-century repertoire is a great achievement of Western European culture; it is extraordinarily profound and exciting, worthy of living with, not just listening to. Given its immense riches many listeners hardly will risk an evening on a third-rate new composition. The repetitive musical culture has, in fact, been attributed to a failure of contemporary composition. Other explanations blame the lack of adventurous listeners, the stodgy institutions, the commercialization of classical music or the stagnation of the recording industry.

Each of these explanations has some validity. But they reduce an exceedingly complex cultural phenom-

warding, beautiful. But our repetitions are also similar to the demands made in childhood, demands to hear a story told again and again; such demands are echoed in many of the repetitions of culture and religion.

As children we did not ask for retellings in order to learn more; we simply wanted to hear tales told again. Children ask to hear the stories they know the best, stories they know so well, they could easily tell them themselves.

Sigmund Freud referred to the "child's peculiar pleasure in constant repetition." In "Beyond the Pleasure Principle," he writes: "If a child has been told a nice story, he will insist on hearing it over and over again rather than a new one, and he will remorselessly stipulate that the repetition shall be an identical one and will correct any alterations of which the narrator may be guilty."

Of course, contemporary musical audiences are not merely children listening to papa composers tell stories. But the requests are similar; certain works are selected as "favorites" — Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, Chopin's Waltzes, Verdi's "La Traviata." These are known best, demanded most and varied least. Recordings also offer musical tales in precise, unaltered repetitions.

Freud linked compulsions to repeat to the nature of instinct — the effort "to restore an earlier state of things." Repetition of a story, in this view, involves an attempt to comprehend or restore a dramatic or psychological situation contained within the tale.

What is special about our chosen repertoire? First of all, 19th-century music really is written in the form of a story, with elaborate narrative programs. While programs in Baroque repertoire centered on images, such as the warbling of a bird, Romantic and late Classical programs allude to narrative journeys, invoking Faust, Shakespeare, literary adventures.

An individual's desires threaten the social and familial order; in "Macbeth," ambition does the same. The heroic Siegfried is the savior and destroyer of the order of the gods. In grand opera, stable social hierarchies are threatened by the hero's yearning, or (as in "Carmen") by a woman outside the social order who inspires troubling desires and ambitions.

But this music is more than just social adventure. The anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss has suggested that this repertoire has a mythological function in society.

In "Myth and Meaning," Mr. Lévi-Strauss asserts that after the 18th-century, myth receded in importance; the novel and music took its place. "The music that took over the traditional function of mythology," he argues, "reached its full development

with Mozart, Beethoven, and Wagner in the 18th and 19th centuries."

If 19th-century music has the function of myth in our society, the concert hall is a cross between a theater and a temple. The concert has the airs of a repeated ritual, communally celebrated in our modern religion of high art. The musical myths, telling of our social origins and our connections with primal forces, are told and retold.

The "great" 19th-century composer himself becomes a mythic figure in these rituals. The heroes of myth, Mr. Eliade points out, are not just individuals who lived at a particular time and place; they are representative of primal forces. Moses and Jesus and Mohammed, in the mythologies of three religions, speak for the divine realm. So too with Mozart, Beethoven,

Wagner; no matter how program notes describe their lives or surroundings, we treat the music as if it derived from a transcendental source. In Peter Shaffer's Broadway play "Amadeus," this split between music and the historical individual is taken as self-evident: Mozart is crude and awful; his music is magical, a revelation.

Musically, then, we have turned these "great" composers into a pantheon of gods who lived at the beginning of our musical age. They stand outside of history, delivering regenerative messages from the musical beyond. And we honor their messages with unstinting devotion at every concert. When we repeat these myths we invoke our gods and celebrate our mythological past, regenerating ourselves with the concert ritual.



Beethoven

Mozart

Verdi

tion of Mussorgsky's "Boris Godunov" will return as will Debussy's "Pelléas et Mélisande" and the "Parsifal" trilogy, with its ballet and two 20th-century operas. But 12 out of the 21 operatic productions being offered next season — over half the repertoire — were premiered in the 35 years between 1850 and 1885; five of those are by Verdi. Only three works premiered after 1905; one is the familiar "Der Rosenkavalier."

The seasons at both the Met and the Philharmonic, then, are intensely focused on the 19th-century repertoire. That policy is a resounding success: halls are filled to over 90 percent of capacity; at least 12,000 seats are filled at the four weekly Philharmonic concerts; more than 25,000 tickets are sold to the seven weekly Met performances. This programming speaks for the tastes of the musical mainstream.

Elsewhere, the same repertoire is also repeated by popular demand. The Mostly Mozart Festival will soon return as well, with its repetitive festivities. The massive replays of Classical and Romantic music, occasionally interrupted by a new or recent work,

non to matters of taste and commerce. They do not explain why repetition has become so extensive in its own right, and why those repetitions should be so exclusively centered upon the 19th-century tradition.

We do not, for example, turn to this repertoire simply because the "new" is unappreciated; in fact, for most audiences, the "new" is unnecessary. The 19th century satisfies our musical needs; it has a special meaning. This is not just because 19th-century music is "great" or has beautiful melodies — the melodies of the Renaissance are just as beautiful, largely unperformed early music just as "great." The point is that the 19th-century has actually come to define our ideas of what music should be. The Philharmonic and the Metropolitan Opera were founded in the 19th century; the symphony orchestra, the concert hall, and grand opera have their origins in the same period. We live in a 19th-century musical culture.

Why then, is this music so tirelessly repeated? There are the obvious reasons — because it is pleasurable, re-

That is why we treat these works as stories and listen with rapt attention. If we also respond so strongly, it is because of their meanings. Music after early Classicism was not written for a patron, a court performance, church service or folk celebration; it was the first music written for "the public" — the new middle class — to be heard in concert halls. These musical narratives are similar to the novel which came to maturity in the same period. The novels of Austen, Dickens, or George Eliot, were precisely observed tales about the social order and the willful individual, about the middle-class public and its ambitious, desirous and reflective citizens. Musical narratives by middle-class composers have the same spirit.

The symphonic repertoire is suffused with psychological detail and epic tension, with encounters between public order (massive blocks of sound, regular harmonies, sturdy resolutions) and more unstable private passions (surprising dissonances, melancholy melodies, rhythmic disruption). These conflicts are the themes of grand opera as well. In "Don Carlo,"



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THESE FOUR families aren't exactly like the others in the Herzliya cottage development where they live. There are more children in these families than in most of the neighbouring households, and most of the children aren't related by blood to each other or to the "parents."

Despite these differences, the intention is for these families to be as much like those around them as possible, to give three dozen children from hopeless backgrounds a special chance for a happy, healthy, love-filled and successful future. The adults call it Neve Wizo; the children who live there simply call it home.

Officially, Neve Wizo opens today, but that's only officially. One "family" has been living in its cottage for a month, and all the families have been together in one form or another for about a year.

It all began when Wizo decided to close its Mothercraft Training Centre, a large, hospital-like institution for preschool children. It would have been nice if all the children from MTC could have been returned to rehabilitated homes, or adopted into loving homes, but this wasn't the case.

There were some children who needed something more permanent than foster care, and others something more humane and normalizing than institutional living. The solution Wizo suggested was to hire dedicated couples who would care for small groups of children in

a family atmosphere in a suburban community.

Thanks to two donors, the Garth family of France and a second benefactor, who wishes to remain anonymous, Wizo was able to buy four five-bedroom cottages in a new development in Herzliya. The South African Wizo Federation has taken upon itself the responsibility of maintaining Neve Wizo.

In this case, "maintaining" means more than food, clothing and shelter. It includes music or dancing lessons (or other extracurricular activities) for children with special interests and talents, picnics for all, and a variety of other extras designed to make these children's lives as much like that of their friends in the neighbourhood as possible. (The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs participates in paying for the care of these children, as they do in all forms of child care, but Wizo officials say it's too early to provide budget figures on what Wizo or the ministry will spend.)

There are some things money can't buy, of course, and for those, Wizo tried to select the best four couples it could find to be the "parents" at Neve Wizo. Over 700 couples responded to ads for the job. Those who saw it as a solution to their own housing problems were immediately rejected. Medical examinations, checks of police records, psychological and graphological examinations, and every other available means were

Growing up with love

By LEA LEVAVI / Jerusalem Post Reporter

then used to weed out the wrong people.

ONE OF the couples, ultimately chosen was the Marcuseons. Arthur, who repairs antique clocks for a living, and his wife Yocheved, an experienced child-care worker originally trained by Wizo to work at one of its institutions, are the first to have a full "family" of eight children. (The maximum in any cottage will be nine.)

"I was working for Akim, with retarded children, when I heard about this project, and I thought it was exciting and did everything I could to find out how we could participate," Yocheved said. While she talked, children came. One after another, each wanting something else — water, a piece of candy and just some attention. She had time and patience for all, never raising her voice. "I won't say they don't know how to get us angry," she said,

"but we love them."

Arthur spoke about teaching the children self-discipline. "In institutional settings, the discipline is imposed by the workers' schedules. We want to teach them the kind of self-discipline that enables people to live together in society: how to share, how to compromise, how to behave." He said he's particularly interested in maintaining the Neve Wizo property in good condition so that values of surrounding property, and relations between Neve Wizo and the neighbours, won't suffer.

The Marcuseons' "children" range in age from a few weeks old to eight. They will remain together and grow up as a family, returning to the Neve Wizo "home" on leave when they serve in the army, and beyond that until they are on their own. "The babies call us Mommy and Daddy," Arthur said. "The older children do it when our own 22-year-old daughter Tali is here and calls us

that; otherwise they forget. It doesn't matter to us whether they call us Mommy and Daddy or by our first names. We try to maintain friendly relations with their natural parents. The children themselves learn to differentiate between who takes care of them all the time and who comes once in a while to visit."

Relations between Neve Wizo and the children's natural families are maintained with the help of the social worker and psychologist who work with each "family" on an almost daily basis. "Parents' visits, or plans for the children to visit their parents' homes, are made in advance, and we prepare the children. The professionals prepare the parents, telling them what to bring and what sort of games to play with the children during the visit," Yocheved said.

Yocheved, 49, and Arthur, 55, pray for continued good health. "I'm having trouble with a leg," Yocheved said, "and when the doctor told me to go home and take it easy for 10 days, I burst into tears."

Wizo immediately provided extra temporary help in addition to the part-time child-care workers and cleaning woman already on the cottage staff, but neither the additional helping hands nor her husband's protests could keep Yocheved off her feet. The doctor's threat of thrombosis notwithstanding, if Ya'akov or Miriam or Rachel or Benny or any of her other three "daughters" and five "sons" called her, she was up and running.

EXCEPT FOR the infants, who are relative newcomers to the "family," the Marcuseons and their children have been together for about a year, first at the Hadassim Youth Village and now in the cottage. "Of course, at Hadassim there were more workers with the children and less of a family atmosphere than here," Arthur said. Today, the children attend nursery schools, kindergartens or elementary schools in the neighbourhood and invite school friends home just as other children would.

The more personalized family atmosphere has worked some minor miracles. Children who could barely feed themselves a year ago, or who stuttered, or who had distorted facial expressions now eat normally, speak without speech defects and smile. Even one four year old who still doesn't talk and whose development hasn't kept normal pace is showing improvement. On demand, he imitates the sounds of donkeys, horses, birds, lambs and other animals. His repertoire has markedly increased since the Marcuseons first met him. "Sometimes I think he's stopped developing altogether, and then suddenly I see a spurt," Arthur said.

One miracle that hasn't yet happened, but for which the Marcuseons are hoping, is an end to the children's destructive tendencies. "I told the oldest boy that we're buying him a camera for his birthday, but only if he promises not to break

it in pieces the next day, the way he did with the bicycle and the lantern," Yocheved said. She added happily, however, that the same boy, who had always wanted his own way and refused to cooperate with others, had helped her make all the beds that morning. "I gave him a prize for it, of course, but he did help me when I told him my legs hurt," she said.

Wizo asked to give a special word of thanks to Herzliya Mayor Yosef Nevo, who has actively supported the project. Contrary to those who had advocated creating a *fait accompli* and letting the neighbours like it or lump it, Nevo urged that efforts be made to explain the project to neighbours and to win their support. At the same time, he made it clear that in case the neighbours didn't like it, they would have to live with it, because it was a needed community service to which no one had the right to object. "As far as I know, the idea was accepted quite well by the neighbours," Arthur Marcuseon said, "and we're going to do everything we can to keep it that way. As for the kids, we're going to do our very best to see that they grow up to be good citizens."

Dahlia, a mother from another cottage who happened to overhear, added: "Look at this baby girl," pointing to the bundle in her arms. "Her mother is a schizophrenic and her father's serving a life sentence. If I didn't take her, what would become of her? This way, she's got a chance."

JERUSALEM SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA. Uri Segal conducting with Dora Schreier. Violin: Michael Minsky, cello (Jerusalem Theatre, April 6). And Ma'ayan: Three Scenes from the Ballet "The Legend of Three and Four"; Brahms Double Concerto, op. 102; Debussy: "L'après-midi d'un faune"; Hindemith: "Matthäus, der Male"; Symphony.

THIS MOST varied and interesting

programme left much to be desired in its execution and interpretation. An Israeli first — Ma'ayan's "Ballet Scenes" — showed the composer in total control of scoring and orchestra colours, which somehow covered up the dearth of musical ideas. Perhaps as music to a ballet,

LIGHTWEIGHT WORK

MUSIC REVIEWS

in which concentration is on the dancing it may have sufficient weight, but for listening *per se*, one can only admire his inventive orchestration.

The soloists in the Brahms *Double Concerto* seemed miscast; stylistically, the performance did not do justice to the music. The slow movement fell apart altogether for which the conductor seemed responsible. It is most difficult to analyse what was wrong, but the wonderful music did not get the interpretation it deserves — phrasing, tone quality, tempi, the whole atmosphere did not fit the content of the score.

The Debussy prelude missed all its exciting qualities — morbidity, lasciviousness, sensuality, the sultriness of a hot summer afternoon. The work emerged too clear and sober, too conscientiously executed. Time-beating is surely not enough for this piece.

The best performance was the Hindemith Symphony, which showed precision, contrasting dynamics and natural movement towards its climax. Though the programme said Mathis the Painter lived from 1528-1548, my sources show that he died in 1528.

YOHANAN BOEHM

ISRAEL PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA. Jesus Lopez-Cobos, conductor, with Uri Pizuka, violinist (Haifa Auditorium, April 1). Haydn: Symphony No. 5 in G Minor ("La Posa"); Bartok: Concerto for Violin and Orchestra (No. 2); Dvorak: Symphony No. 7 in D Minor, Op. 70.

THERE WAS something for everybody in this varied, well-balanced programme. Jesus Lopez-Cobos and the IPO started off well with a clear and polished rendition of the Haydn symphony, nicknamed

"The Hen," as the first movement's second subject was thought by the Parisians to suggest a hen's cluck.

Uri Pizuka read the Bartok violin concerto with virtuosity and understanding, displaying a fine, warm tone, skill and expressiveness. Conductor and orchestra stood up to the task, providing support and

balance, making the whole performance of this composition both convincing and impressive.

Conductor Lopez-Cobos had the opportunity to prove his mettle in the final symphony. Under his competent and resourceful leadership, the IPO played very well. Dvorak's symphony was given the right proportions, and its contrasting moods finely developed, from dramatic intensity to lyrical expressiveness, from colourful and restless scherzo to the dense, martial finale.

HAIFA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, Uri Schneider, Switzerland, conducting; with Pianist David Golub, U.S. (Haifa Auditorium, April 1); Marescotti: *Aubade*, police symphony, Op. 13; Mozart: Piano Concerto in B Flat Major, K. 456; Beethoven: Symphony No. 6 in F Major, Op. 68 "Pastoral."

GUEST conductor Urs Schneider, is the musical director and conductor of the Camerata Helvetica in Stuttgart. In his first appearance in Israel, he brought with him the music of Swiss composer Andre Francois Marescotti, born in 1902. Marescotti is vice president of the Concours International d'Execution Musicales de Genève and of the foundation "Prix de Composition Reine Marie-José." His *Aubade* written in conventional style, has three movements differing in mood — a lively opening, and aria and humorous, little march at the end. The piece has also many gay solo parts for the wind, brass and percussion.

Another "first" was the Israeli

debut of pianist David Golub of Dallas. At 32, he is an outstanding instrumentalist with impressive technical and musical abilities. The solo part of the Mozart piano concerto was played by him with simplicity, clear musical phrasing and refinement. But it also had substance and feeling, without any showing off or mannerisms. Conductor and orchestra provided a fine accompaniment, and the performance was worthy of the warm and prolonged applause.

In the closing "Pastoral," conductor Urs Schneider, with a smile and a firm hand, achieved good results and communication with the players.

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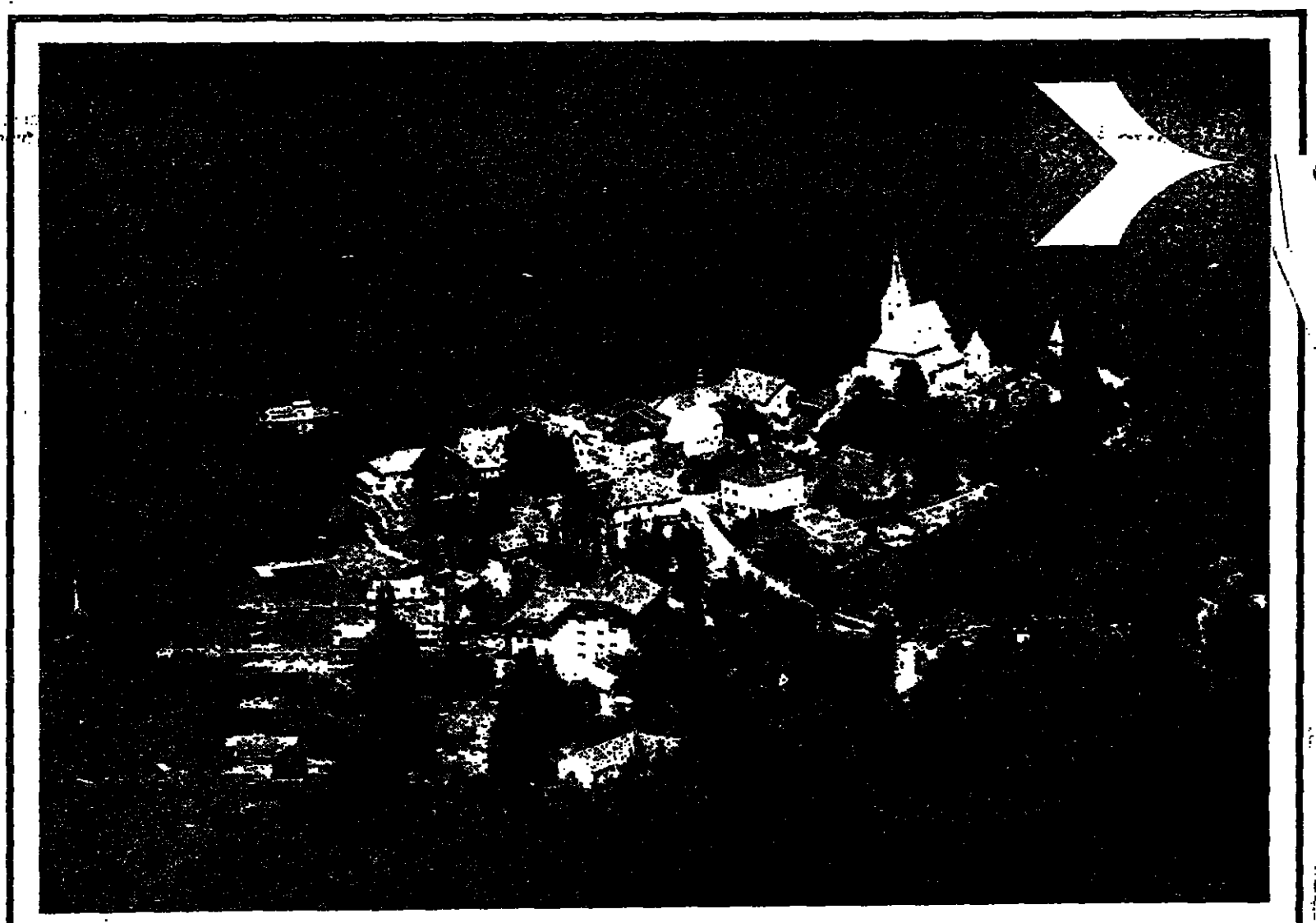
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THE TRIP starts before dawn when the bus arrives at the Cairo Sheraton Hotel on the banks of the Nile — the first pick-up point. It is crewed by three Egyptians, including the driver. Above the steering wheel is a notice in English: "Do not talk with the driver."

Six passengers board here, most of them young American backpackers, with both sexes wearing that increasingly international symbol of youthful protest — black and white chequered keffiyehs which they have wound about their necks against the cold.

This is much the cheapest way of getting from Cairo to Jerusalem. Just over 450 kilometres, two-thirds of it desert road, for \$30 — the only currency accepted. The trip will take almost 13 hours.

The first Israelis come on board at one of the cheaper hotels in Old Cairo muttering, "shalom," with one man wearing a lace Moslem prayer cap over pepper-and-salt hair. An argument breaks out with the Americans who have bagged the back seat. The senior Egyptian crewman, who speaks good English, arbitrates and the Israelis eventually take side seats.

MOST OF THE Arabic speakers board at even cheaper hotels. One is carrying two large bundles of bath loofahs which join the baggage stacked in the aisle because the boot is now full. A young man dons an immaculate fez, usually only worn by very old men in any Arab country nowadays. "When I get to Israel, I want people to know where I am from," he explained.

He is one of the few Egyptians on board. Most of the other Arabs are from the territories. A businessman from Nablus is going home after his first visit to Cairo since he was a child in the early 1950s.

He thought it had changed a lot, mostly for the worst. "Lot of very rich people, but more very poor people," he said, shaking his head

All aboard the 'Shalom' bus

By COLIN SMITH/London

sadly. We swerved to avoid a rubbish collector's donkey cart and he stared morosely out at the almost empty streets of Africa's biggest city, which was still a blissful couple of hours away from the terrible, horn-blasting cacophony of its daily traffic jam.

A purple dawn turns cyclamen as the sun rises over the horizon revealing conscripts already doubling around the parade grounds of the army camps near the airport. Everybody wants to sleep, but the driver switches on his public address system to announce it is 360 km. to El Arish, where we will transfer to an Israeli bus. This is the capital of the Sinai and until April 26, when Israel makes its final withdrawal from Sinai, marks the border.

THE DRIVER points out the sights. This is the airport. This collection of houses is called Peace City. Just in case anybody is nodding off he puts a belly dancing tape on.

The Palestinian from Nablus grimaces. Egyptians sound loud to most other Arabs, particularly the Lebanese who think their accent most unrefined.

First stop is just before the Suez Canal at a roadside desert cafe called Sixth October, in commemoration of the Yom Kippur War.

A 40-year-old kibbutznik called Ya'acov Gilboa, who had come to Israel from Chile 20 years ago and served in that war, had discovered his old enemies were very likeable

human beings. Nothing but kindness shown. People giving up seats for him on trains. Railway officials even reducing fares for him and the old army friend he was travelling with. Both men had fought not all that far away from the place they were now taking tea, although they were chary about details. "Just ordinary soldiers."

East of the canal, crossed by flat-bottomed ferry, war memorials abound: the smashed concrete and twisted steel of the "impregnable" Bar-Lev Line; derelict tanks from both sides; hatches up and the guns that failed them still pointing guiltily at the enemy.

Anything the armies failed to salvage has been removed by the Beduin, the real natives of these parts. Stockades of woven thorn for their animals are all around, and occasionally one glimpses a solitary figure on a camel or a donkey in the dunes. We pass through a war-devastated village: "This is now called Sixth October Village," whispers the man from Nablus.

There is a stop to help an Egyptian driver whose Mercedes is stuck in some soft sand on the shoulder of the road. Among the six men who get out to push is one of the Israelis. SHORTLY BEFORE El Arish, the Israeli wearing the Moslem prayer cap replaces it with a little green kippa embroidered with orange flowers and the American backpackers remove their keffiyehs. The other young Americans aboard

nod approvingly to each other at this. They turn out to be Jewish theology students on a year's course in Israel.

We arrive at the border at noon. Between them, Egyptian and Israeli custom and immigration formalities take two-and-a-half hours. The Israelis are very thorough, especially with a reporter with a lot of Arab stamps in his passport.

All cases and bags are unpacked and empty suitcases x-rayed with a machine powerful enough to warrant a lead-lined tank with a flashing red light outside. Shoes are taken away and their heels x-rayed separately. For some reason, the loofahs are also singled out for special treatment.

It's all done courteously enough by a young man who inquires, "How's Cairo — still stinking?" But the repacking leaves something to be desired.

On our new bus everybody wants to sleep so the Israeli driver, who has had time to get acquainted with some of his passengers while the potential security risks were being processed, demands that one of the theology students recites a traveler's prayer over the loudspeaker system: "Didn't understand a word of it," says his friend when he returned to his seat. As we move off, the driver tunes into a radio station playing non-stop pop between hourly newscasts in Hebrew.

We pass through a scrub and cactus country that seems entirely populated by adolescent Beduin girls in flowing black robes chasing sheep and goats with large sticks. Nymphs and shepherds. "Just to think all this is going back to Egypt," says one of the theology students wistfully.

But his friend is asleep. The rest of us have to listen to a George Fame record made about the time the Israelis first captured the territory.

(London Observer Service)

READERS' LETTERS

REVISIONIST INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — There can be little doubt but that the analysis of Meir Merhav in his article of March 16, "Begin's search for legitimacy," is essentially correct. Mr. Begin's motivation in seeking to erase from the record the Revisionist movement's ideological and political guilt of incitement to violence in those early times, however laudable in his own eyes, is thus time misguiding and can quite possibly boomerang. Mr. Merhav's conclusion that Begin cannot lose is erroneous.

After all, Mr. Begin has been at the helm of the seat of power now for quite a few years. The Likud today represents the establishment and, with the passage of time, an aura of respectability is inevitably bound to entrench itself around the party. Many of us who have lived through the early volatile period of the Revisionist movement — including the period both before and after the Arlosoroff murder — (and there are quite a few of us still staggering around) have made our ostensible peace (whether willingly or unwillingly) with the present and are prepared to give Mr. Begin his due.

That early formative period is fast fading and receding into oblivion. The present generation surely has little interest in a commission of inquiry on what transpired 50 years ago. Is Mr. Begin, Mr. Shabtai Tzvi's book notwithstanding, really prepared to take upon himself the unnecessary risk of raking up these old ashes? Mr. Merhav places a great deal of store (and not without some justification) in Labour bungling, as a basis for his conclusion that Begin cannot lose. But Labour has neither to reiterate, deny nor renash the charges of half a century ago. All it has to do is simply make available some excerpts from the pens of some of the gentlemen in question from their own Revisionist press of that period and from some of the documents read in evidence at the Arlosoroff trial. In effect, a self-portrait. These men were idols of Revisionist youth: Betar and the Revisionist movement as a whole stood firmly behind every provocation perpetrated under their leadership. May I offer just a few choice samplings?

Aba Achimeir:

- "We must create groups for action; to exterminate the Histadrut physically; they are worse than Arabs; bombs into their gatherings."
- "Boys, you can send to the devil all the General Zionists in the Revisionist Party. Better learn how to handle a gun."
- "It is by the amount of bloodshed that we can judge the revolution, and not by the beautiful ideas for which the blood is shed."
- "The concept, 'political crime' is one whose criminality is of purely subjective nature: the criminal and those in league with him not only refuse to see it as a crime, but regard it as an act of positive value."

"Sicari arise because they realize that they are self-sacrificing volunteers, and that the act of murder will be regarded by many as an heroic deed and a positive achievement. Therefore the Sicari is responsible for his deed only juridically."

1) "We must create groups for action; to exterminate the Histadrut physically; they are worse than Arabs; bombs into their gatherings."

2) "Boys, you can send to the devil all the General Zionists in the Revisionist Party. Better learn how to handle a gun."

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"Sicari arise because they realize that they are self-sacrificing volunteers, and that the act of murder will be regarded by many as an heroic deed and a positive achievement. Therefore the Sicari is responsible for his deed only juridically."

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — It is indeed regrettable that the Prime Minister has chosen to use the term "blood libel" in referring to the Arlosoroff murder and its aftermath. It has long been accepted by historians and the general public that this term refers to the ritual murder accusations for which the Jewish people has paid a bitter price through the centuries. Surely Mr. Begin is aware of this and his repeated use of this terminology is an all too obvious attempt to befuddle the issue.

A murder charge is not a blood libel. The defendants in the case were tried and acquitted of the charges. Naturally, as in every court verdict, there are different opinions as to its validity. More so where political or ideological issues are involved. The faithful will continue to believe and the sceptics to doubt. No judicial commission of inquiry can pass judgment on matters which affect individual beliefs or conscience. In this case, the Prime Minister is asking the judicial commission not only to confirm the innocence of the defendants, but to testify that they could not even have contemplated the heinous crime with which they were charged. That is a mighty big order for jurists, no matter how highly qualified they are.

The Dreyfus affair is in the distant past. Alfred Dreyfus was exonerated by the French courts three quarters of a century ago. Yet there were millions of French people then, and many today, who believed and continue to believe that Dreyfus was guilty and was cleared through the influence and machinations of a Jewish-Masonic-Liberal-Socialist cabal. What would we think if the head of a French contemporary right-wing, conservative, reactionary government were to demand the appointment of a judicial commission to conduct a study of the Dreyfus affair, with specific instructions to bring in a verdict that Dreyfus was indeed guilty? He would be laughed out of court and that's exactly what should happen to this blatant attempt to revise history.

What Mr. Begin told his mother in Warsaw in 1933 is very touching, but not relevant. The late great Rav Kook's reputed offer to swear on a Tora scroll on Yom Kippur falling on a Sabbath, at the Ne'ila service, before the open Holy Ark, that Stavsky was "innocent and pure," is hardly admissible in courts of law. Rav Kook's faith in Stavsky's innocence is not evidence.

BEAUTY SPOTS NEAR TIBERIAS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — It was interesting to read Helga Dudman's recent article about Tiberias and its surroundings; but it was a pity that she missed out on two places of beauty on her route. At the northern tip of the Kinneret is a 200-dunam park developed by the Jewish National Fund and called Jordan Park. Here, she would have found picnic tables, nature trails, ancient mills alongside bubbling streams under beautiful fully-grown trees.

A little further south, half-way between Jordan Park and the Kinneret intersection which Ms. Dudman mentions, is the holiday village of Ramot run by the moshav of the same name. Here, A-shaped bungalows and wooden Dutch caravans offer all the luxuries of a first-class hotel with the conveniences of your own home, with horse-riding, a swimming pool, restaurant and night club on the spot and a full range of entertainment programmes and activities for youngsters during the season. The JNF prepared the hilly terrain for the infrastructure of the village and also planted the forest which encompasses the hill, as well as a scenic route which parallels the main highway along the hillside.

As for the picnic areas along the Kinneret, this is part of an overall plan being carried out by the JNF together with the Kinneret Authority, to develop the entire eastern bank of the Kinneret as a major recreation centre in Israel. Over 10 kilometres of continuous picnic spots, parking areas and forest roads are being prepared by the JNF for the coming vacation season.

YITZHAK GOLAN
JNF Spokesman

Jerusalem.

CHILD ADOPTIONS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — S.S. Assaf's article on child adoptions (March 28) mentions the proposal in the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs' draft law of December 1980, providing for an officially appointed appeal board to hear appeals against rejections of adoptive family applicants by the Ministry's adoption service, this proposal being omitted in the bill presented to the Knesset as well as in the law finally passed.

As Chairman of the Public Advisory Committee set up in 1976 by the then Minister of Justice to review the law on adoptions, I would like to point out that the committee's report and recommendations submitted in October 1979 contained an express provision empowering the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs in consultation with the Minister of Justice, to promulgate regulations relating to the selection of candidates as adoptive parents, including procedures for filing applications and appeals against rejections. The recommendations proposed an appeal board of three, composed of a jurist, a psychiatrist or psychologist and a social worker.

In fairness to the distinguished members of the committee, I must say that I am at a loss to know why this recommendation, or the subsequent proposal of the ministry, was not presented for consideration by the Knesset.

MOSHE ETZIONI

Jerusalem.

PENFRIENDS

OBIANO SHEDRACK (23), of St. Peter's Sec. School, Achina, P.O.B. 82, Augusta L.G.A., Anambra State, Nigeria, is an Ibo who would like to have Israeli penfriends of his age. He teaches literature and economic theory in a secondary school.

Jerusalem.

FLOGGING A DEAD HORSE

Mr. Begin has well earned his laurels as a master of obfuscation. It is time he rested on them and turned his attention to the life-and-death problems which beset this country. Flogging a dead horse may bring a million headlines, but it does nothing to help solve problems which really matter.

SAMUEL H. ABRAMSON
Jerusalem.

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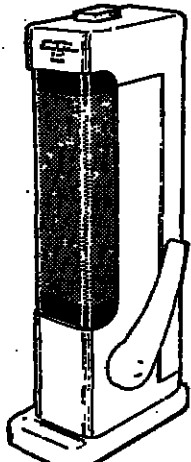
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NASHABYA; PINAT HAFERACH, SHERIDOT HAGAATON, NAZARETH; BEN IBRAHIM YOSEF, 70/79, ERVIN KATZ, SHOVA DROMIT 72, NETANYA; OR LEMOFET, SMILENSKI 1, RADIO EXPRESS, HERZL 39, BEIT HASHAL, HERZL 11, CLENET, SHTEPFER 2, OFANIM; AMIRAGAS, HERZL 1, OR YEBUDIA; ELECTRO AVI, HATAGANA 130, FARDIS KATZ, MOTZREI HASHAL, JABOTINSKY 128, PETACH TIKVA; SALON BARAK, HOVEVEI ZION 50, FRIEDMAN, HAIM OZER 1, RADIO EFRAT, ORLOV 80, BANANAN; AHIZA, MERCAZ GOLAN 138, RAMAT GAN; NURIEL, BALIK 66, DANIRAN, HAREOH 13, RAMAT HASHARON; RADIO OZ, SOKOLOV 65, RAMLE, NIVRASHOT, HAMIGDAL (NOVAK), HERZL 84 (PASSAGE), BEHOVOT,GAZI, BLU 52, MISHON LEZON-VORAM COHEN, ROTHSCHILD 42, SALON TOMER, HERZL 22, HALOM 51, BRANITZKI 31, SAFED; GANON, JERUSALEM 70, SHERIDOT; MACOLET SARAH JOSEPH, COMMERCIAL CENTER 224, LISHA CHANAN, JOSEPHIAL 133, TEL AVIV; SHENFELD, MEKVE ISRAEL 2, AHARON, HERZL 23, SHARABANI, ETZEL 14, SHERUTER MISRAD BEIT GIBOR, KAUFMAN 6, ZAKRY YEBUDA, SOLOMON 7, SALON HAVIVA, ALLENBY 63, HEMED, SHEROT HARKON 12, DRIVE STOR, DERECH HAIFA 100, NUR ZAVDA, SALMA 35, KEF CORTEL, SILAVIM 16, TEL MOND; CHAKYA, MERCAZ MISCHARI, TIBERIAS; SHIVUK KINNERET, KIBYAT SHMUEL, TIBAT HACHAMEL; BEN ABU SHLOMO, JABOTINSKY 55, YAFFO; SALON GIRON, YEFET 103, SHORI KOPI, SHERIDOT JERUSALEM 64, YAVINE, PIZANTIL, MERCAZ MISCHARI 6, YEBUDIA; MINI MARKET BEN DAVID, SIRKIN 1, ZICHON YAAKOV; YORAM AHARON, HAMEYASDIM 33.

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Sverdloff shocks Binyamini

By JACK LEON
Post Sports Reporter

HERZLIYA — There were upsets galore yesterday in the Israel Tennis Association's annual Pessah International Championships here, with three of the four seeds going out to unseeded opponents in the women's singles quarter-finals and two seeds losing in the second round of the men's singles.

Ruthi Sverdloff was the day's leading giant-killer, beating no. 1 seed Rakefet Binyamini 7-6, 6-1, while Sagit Doron edged third-seeded Sarit Shalev 7-6, 6-7, 6-4. The two 16-year-old winners recently returned from one month of successful tournament competition in Australia.

Top-seeded Shlomo Glickstein was unruffled by the shocks, conceding only three games in his two opening matches at the Dan-Acadia Hotel courts.

Tami Levin, the No. 4 seed, was defeated 6-2, 6-3 by Ilana Berger, leaving no. 2 Orly Bialstock as the



Ruthi Sverdloff

only surviving seed in the semi-finals.

West Germany's Alex Moroz caused the major shock among the men, coming through 7-5, 6-2 against third-seeded Eilon Sini. Udi Amis put out eighth seed Steve Rosenberg 6-2, 6-2, to qualify for a quarter-final against Glickstein tomorrow. In the day's tightest match leading, Junior Menashe Taur squeezed past former long-time champion Yehoshua Shalem 6-4, 4-6, 7-6 in a 150-minute marathon.

Play continues today at 2 p.m. Tournament manager is Lee Berman.

Borg will not play in French open

MONTE CARLO (AP). — Six-time French Open champion Bjorn Borg has decided not to enter the Grand Slam tennis event this year to defend the title he won last year, because of a ruling that would force him to go through the qualifying round, his coach Lennart Bergelin said yesterday at the Monte Grand Prix tournament here.

The 25-year-old Borg ended a five-month tournament break, the longest of his career, to play in the tournament. He was eliminated in straight sets on Thursday in a quarter-final match by France's Yannick Noah.

The deadline for a player to announce his intention to play in the French Open ends at midnight tonight. The two-week French tour-

namment, the first Grand Slam event of the year, begins on May 24.

"Bjorn has decided not to play the French Open this year because he doesn't want to go through the qualifying round," Bergelin said. "We haven't yet made a decision about Wimbledon."

The All-England club, which runs Wimbledon, is meeting this Thursday to discuss the 25-year-old Borg's qualifying status. "We will probably be making an announcement on whether Borg will play at Wimbledon next week in Tokyo," Bergelin said.

Borg will be playing an exhibition match in Japan next week-end. The world's top player for 27 consecutive months, Borg has dropped to sixth place in the rankings.

Vilas takes Monte Carlo title

MONTE CARLO (AP). — Argentina's Guillermo Vilas took his first match-point on the 72nd rally yesterday to upset top seed Ivan Lendl of Czechoslovakia 6-1, 7-6, 6-3 in the final of the \$300,000 Monte Carlo Grand Prix tennis tournament.

It was the second time that Vilas, the No. 2 seed, has won the title at this major clay court tournament. Monaco's Princess Grace presented Vilas with the winner's cup. He won the title in 1976.

The 29-year-old Argentinian,

ranked fourth, needed two hours and 39 minutes to post his straight-sets victory over the 22-year-old Czech, who last week wrested the No. 2 spot in the rankings from American Jimmy Connors.

Vilas earned \$60,000 as the winner, while Lendl took home a \$30,000 dollar runner-up cheque. The poetry-writing Vilas, who published a second volume of his poems last year, never lost a single set in the tournament.

Basketball play-offs

TEL AVIV. — Two basketball championship play-off games will be played at the Yad Eliahu Stadium this week. Hapoel Ramat Gan facing Hapoel Tel Aviv tonight and Maccabi Tel Aviv playing Hapoel Ramat Gan on Thursday night.

In this top finals group, Maccabi Tel Aviv one currently in the lead, following their 89-73 midweek win against Hapoel Tel Aviv. Each squad plays the two others twice, the team emerging top of this group to be awarded the League title and the all important place in next season's European championships.

"The Walrus" leads The Masters

AUGUSTA (AP). — Craig Stadler, ambushed by a double bogey earlier, birdied his last three holes for a 5-under-par 67 and took a 3-stroke command lead on Saturday in the third round of the 46th Masters Golf Tournament. Stadler, nicknamed "The Walrus," an unknown compared to his competitors, completed three trips over the flowered hills of the Augusta National Golf Club course with a 211 total, 5 under par.

Valenzuela's debut

NEW YORK (AP). — Fernando Valenzuela made a great 1982 debut on Saturday, when he blanked the San Diego Padres for six innings to give his Los Angeles Dodgers a 6-0 victory. Dusty Baker hit a homer.

The New York Mets got a 9-5 decision over the Chicago Cubs, largely due to Dave Klingman driving in five runs with a homer, while Pat Zachry hurled a no-hitter for 7 innings.

In other National League games, the San Francisco Giants beat the Cincinnati Reds 7-6; the Pittsburgh Pirates dethroned the St. Louis Cardinals 11-7; the Kansas City Royals beat the Detroit Tigers 5-2. In the American League, the California Angels whipped the Minnesota Twins 8-1; the Boston Red Sox defeated the Baltimore Orioles 2-0; the Texas Rangers soundly defeated Cleveland Indians 8-3; the Toronto Blue Jays scraped past the Milwaukee Brewers 3-2; the Montreal Expos pounded the Philadelphia Phillies 11-3; the Atlanta Braves trounced the Houston Astros 8-4.

Rugby postponed

TEL AVIV. — Saturday's scheduled National Rugby League Championship play-off between Hapoel Ramat Gan and Hapoel Tel Aviv was postponed.

New Ashkelon stadium

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. — The festive opening of the Ashkelon Tennis Centre's 1,600-seat stadium, educational complex and landscape gardens takes place at 3.30 this afternoon, marking the completion of the building programme for the year-old centre.

The 17-court facility is a project of the Israel Tennis Centres, together with the UK Joint Israel Appeal — within the framework of the JIA's Project Renewal programme for Ashkelon.

A delegation of more than 100 donors from Britain are to attend today's opening, to which the public is invited. Among the guests of honour will be Israel's tennis champion, Shlomo Glickstein, who was born in Ashkelon and learned the game at the southern town's then one-court Shimshon club.

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THE INSIDE TRACK

A perceptive guide to shopping and services in Jerusalem

MY GRANDMOTHER LEFT ME...

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Coquette LEADS WITH FASHIONABLE ACCESSORIES

Coquette's spring collection of Israeli and Italian Leather goods is just what you need. Handbags for sport and dress wear, wallets and purses, belts and other accessories. And just in, a new range of beautiful items in straw and fabric. Come feast your eyes at COQUETTE — high quality fashion for the discriminating shopper. 11 BEN YEHUDA.

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THE NEW STYLES ARE IN THE STORES

Glina's original new styles and designs for spring and summer are catching the eye of the fashion conscious all over town. Casual caftans, harem trousers, dresses, jumpsuits, shirts and blouses, each one handprinted with intriguing Israeli folklore designs. — Distinctively different GLIMA fashions in soft jersey, one size fits all. Fabulous for Pessah parties. GLIMA, 10 Ben Hillel, Jerusalem; Dizengoff Centre (The Bridge Floor) Tel Aviv and better stores everywhere. Bargain seconds (up to 50% off) from the factory shop, 160 Jaffa Rd., Jerusalem. 9 a.m.-7 p.m.

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THE INSIDE TRACK

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ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK LTD.

NOTICE TO SHAREHOLDERS OF AN EXTRAORDINARY GENERAL MEETING

Notice is hereby given that an Extraordinary General Meeting of Shareholders of the Company will be held at the registered office of the Bank, 27/31 Yehuda Halevi Street, Tel Aviv, on May 4, 1982 at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA:

- To consider and if thought fit pass the following resolutions as special resolutions of the Company:
- To cancel on May 11, 1982 the rights granted under the Articles of Association of the Company to the 7.5% Redeemable Preference shares of IS.10 n.v. each;
 - To divide on May 11, 1982 all 7.5% Redeemable Preference shares of IS.10 n.v. each into 10 shares of IS.1 n.v. each and to grant to every such shareholder the rights granted under the Articles of Association of the Company to the Ordinary "A" shares, such shares to rank equally, pari passu, with the existing Ordinary "A" shares and to be denominated Ordinary "A" shares;
 - To cancel as from May 11, 1982 paragraphs 4 through 10 of the Special Resolutions adopted at the Extraordinary General Meeting of Shareholders of the Company on May 16, 1972;
 - That as from May 11, 1982 the Ordinary shares of the Company will be denominated "B" shares.

Tel Aviv, April 12, 1982

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Shareholders may participate and vote at the Extraordinary General Meeting either personally or by proxy, and in case of a corporation, by a duly authorized representative. In accordance with Articles 69 and 70 of the Articles of Association of the Company, an instrument appointing a proxy or representative shall be signed by the shareholder making the appointment or by the corporation, as the case may be, shall state the number and class(es) of shares in respect of which it is given and shall be deposited at the registered office not less than 48 hours before the time for the holding of the Extraordinary General Meeting.

A proxy or a representative need not be a shareholder of the Company.

ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK LTD.

NOTICE TO SHAREHOLDERS OF ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Notice is hereby given that the Annual General Meeting of the Company will be held at the registered office of the Bank, 27-31 Yehuda Halevi Street, Tel Aviv, on Tuesday, May 4, 1982 at 10.00 a.m.

AGENDA:

- To receive and consider the profit and loss account and the balance sheet for 1981;
- To receive and consider the reports of the Directors and Auditors;
- To approve as final dividends for the year 1981 the 6% dividend on the Preference shares, the 7.5% dividend on the Redeemable Preference shares and the interim dividend on the Ordinary and Ordinary "A" shares at the rate of 30% paid on December 30, 1981;
- To elect Auditors and fix their remuneration;
- To transact any other business that may be transacted at an Ordinary Meeting.

Tel Aviv, April 12, 1982

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Shareholders may participate and vote at the Annual General Meeting either personally or by proxy, and in case of a corporation, by a duly authorized representative. In accordance with Articles 69 and 70 of the Articles of Association of the Company, an instrument appointing a proxy or representative shall be signed by the shareholder making the appointment or by the corporation, as the case may be, shall state the number and class(es) of shares in respect of which it is given and shall be deposited at the registered office not less than 48 hours before the time for the holding of the Annual General Meeting.

A proxy or a representative need not be a shareholder of the Company.

HOLIDAY TIME!! DRIVERS—WATCH OUT FOR THE CHILDREN!!

TWO-IN-ONE CROSSWORD

CRYPTIC PUZZLE

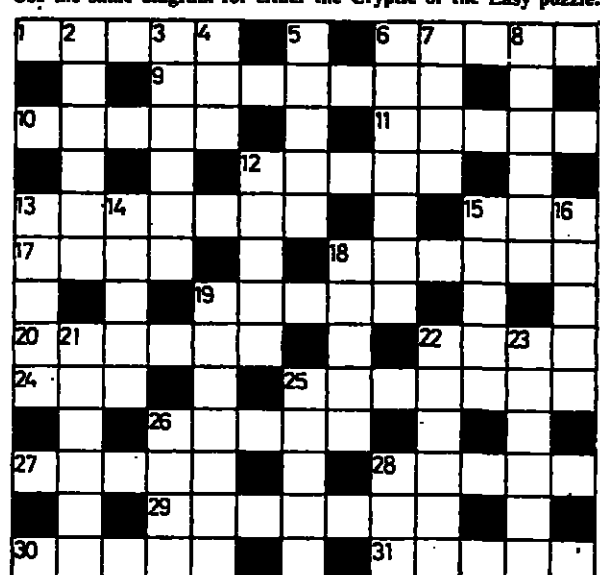
ACROSS

- Get over being peevish (5)
- Throw to a certain height (5)
- Percy as pitcher (7)
- A yarn to floor you? (5)
- But it has its forte (5)
- Excursions into hallucination (5)
- She may be soaring (7)
- In favour of reducing effort (3)
- Electrical accessory advert? (4)
- In mind, we hear, is John (6)
- German mouse? (5)
- Friends for whom a fellow perjures himself (6)
- A number are in trouble (4)
- An amusing little afterthought from Topsy (3)
- A bird to eat? (7)
- It's quite all right to be a leg man (5)
- This native is the right one to go in a taxi (5)
- Where Americans kiss between meals (5)
- Beast getting aliens upset about nothing (3-4)
- Gold or silver, perhaps (5)
- A beast and a bit of a rotter (5)

DOWN

- Sell a litre wrongly (6)
- Ropey racehorses? (6)
- Like some priggish youths (3)
- A deadly striker (5)
- Such an old colonel is a seasoned campaigner (7)
- Not quite a colleen? (4)
- Eastern part of Switzerland? (6)
- Scoring efforts (5)
- Different parts of a fish (5)

Use the same diagram for either the Cryptic or the Easy puzzle.



Yesterday's Cryptic Solution

ACROSS — 3, Clean, 8, Be-Ron, 10, Rusty, 11, Rum, 12, Plead, 13, Digit-Al, 15, Ben-Ny, 18, Con, 19, Vix-age, 21, Fantastic, 22, Ruff, 23, Mead, 24, Chilled, 26, Apeach (dance), 29, Air, 31, Della, 32, Fit-men-t, 34, A-swan, 35, Age, 36, Wrist, 37, Pigmy, 38, Helen.

DOWN — 1, Par-is, 2, Comic-AL, 4, Lo-LL, 5, Arabic, 6, Nudes, 7, S-ing, 9, Rug, 12, Pan-ache, 14, Ton(rev), 16, Named, 17, Y-ells, 19, V-ill-ain, 20, Bread, 21, Final, 23, Mermaid, 24, Chaste, 25, Lit, 27, Pearl, 28, C-I-ash, 30, Enemy, 32, Fate, 33, E-gg.

Yesterday's Easy Solution

ACROSS — 3, Dance, 8, Cobra, 10, Rapid, 11, Mug, 12, Viper, 13, Amnesia, 15, Ether, 18, Net, 19, Adhere, 21, Acres, 22, Wiry, 23, Stop, 24, Monarch, 26, Lintel, 29, Nor, 31, Train, 32, Accepts, 34, Elude, 35, Err, 36, Zebra, 37, Knead, 38, Slump.

DOWN — 1, Comma, 2, Urgency, 4, Aria, 5, Creeds, 6, Earth, 7, Miner, 9, Bun, 12, Vitriol, 14, Set, 16, Heath, 17, Reaps, 19, Askance, 20, Dwell, 21, Arena, 23, Screens, 24, Mental, 25, Roe, 27, Irked, 28, Tiers, 30, Stray, 32, Adam, 33, Pre.

EASY PUZZLE

ACROSS

- Iron (5)
- Offspring (5)
- Kettle-drums (7)
- E.g., football (5)
- Loose (5)
- Musical speed (5)
- Judge's sessions (7)
- Baked dish (3)
- Thin (4)
- Oak fruits (6)
- Primary (5)
- Depended (6)
- Table mountain (4)
- Attempt (3)
- Vacation (7)
- Allow in (5)
- Small, soft cake (5)
- Bird of prey (5)
- Battering (7)
- Burnt remains (5)
- Thick (5)

DOWN

- Rest (6)
- Effort (6)
- Pose (3)
- Secret agents (5)
- Look over (7)
- Vacation (7)
- Ragamuffin (6)
- Lukewarm (5)
- Wide awake (5)
- Sortie (5)
- Snooped (5)
- Written composition (5)
- Famous racecourse (5)
- Bumpers (7)
- Builds (6)
- Optical illusion (6)
- Expensive furs (6)
- Female deer (5)
- Stake (4)
- Finish (3)

Solutions
to today's
puzzle
tomorrow

Drop in hotel occupancy last year

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel's tourist hotels last year suffered a drop of 2.4 per cent in bed-nights, according to figures released last week by the Central Bureau of Statistics.

According to the official figures, the hotels provided some 9.3 million bed-nights in 1981. At the same time, the number of hotel rooms increased from 25,000 to 25,800. In fact, the drop in bed-nights by foreign tourists was even greater, some 6 per cent, but this was offset by a rise of 9 per cent in occupancy by Israelis in the tourist hotels. The occupancy rate in 1981 was 52.4 per cent, a drop of 4 per cent in

comparison to 1980. The highest occupancy rates were recorded at the Dead Sea (64 per cent) and Eilat (62 per cent).

The country's hotels last year had a turnover of some IS3.5 billion, \$307m., of which some 70 per cent was received from foreign tourists and paid in their currency. This represented an increase of 11 per cent in dollar income compared to 1980.

INDIA — The World Bank announced last week it has approved a \$200 million loan to India to help refineries expand their capacity.

General Motors workers forgo pay rises

DETROIT (Reuter) — United Auto Worker (UAW) members last week narrowly approved a 30-month contract with General Motors in which workers will give up pay rises and cost-of-living allowances in return for increased job security.

UAW President Douglas Fraser said that only 52 per cent of the trade union's members at General Motors approved the new contract, designed to help cut costs at America's largest car-maker at a time of severe recession.

The final total vote was 114,468 UAW members in favour and 105,090 opposed. A similar contract at Ford was approved by a 70 to 30

per cent margin.

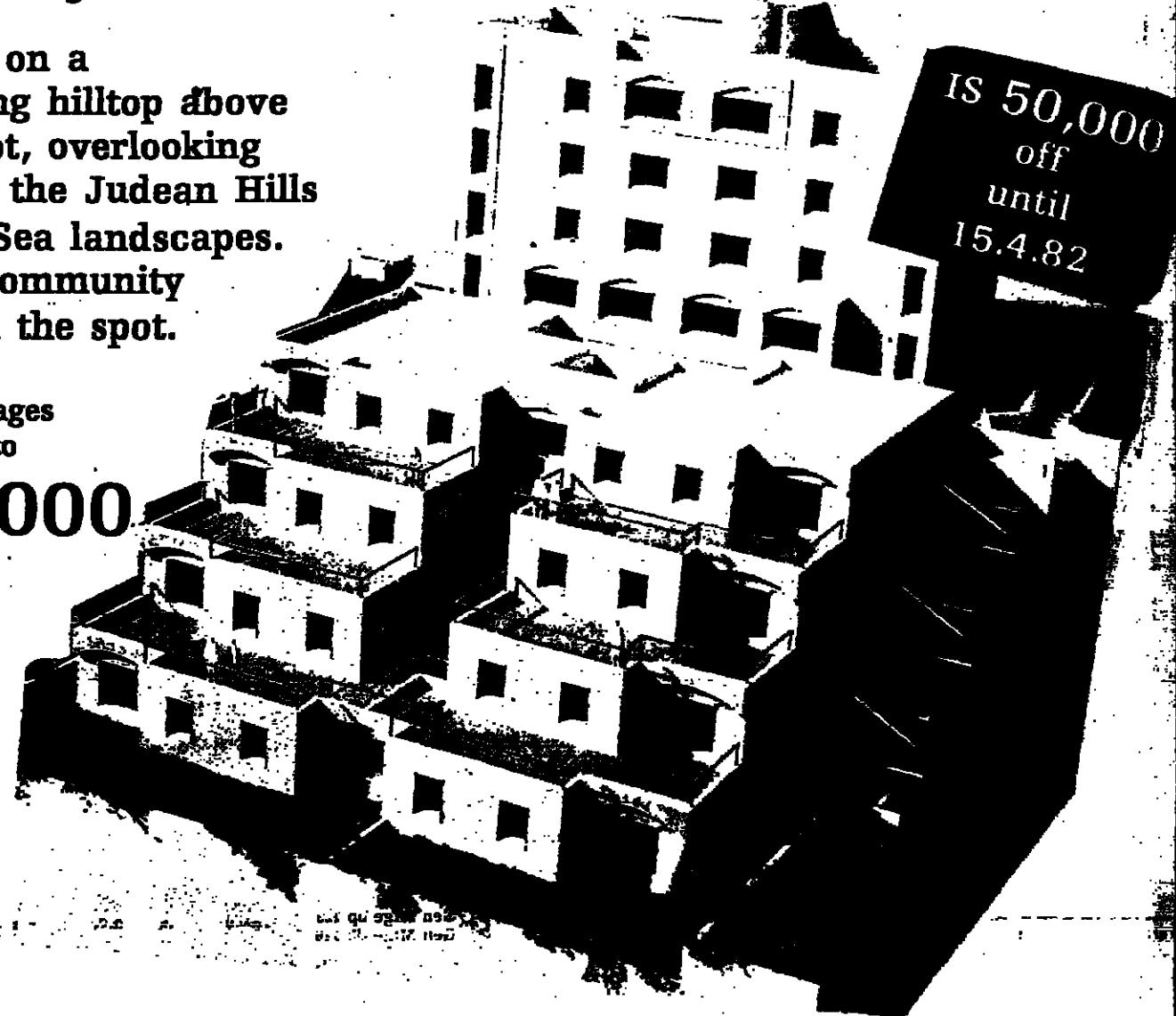
The new contract is expected to bring many thousands of laid-off workers back to work. The agreement covers 470,000 active and laid-off UAW/GM members. In it members give up two annual three per cent pay raises and defer cost of living allowances for 18 months in return for General Motors' agreement to reopen 40 plants employing 10,000 workers and improve layoff benefits to workers idled by other plant closures, seniority with half of their pre-tax earnings for life and a profit-sharing plan for workers based on the company's net worth and assets.

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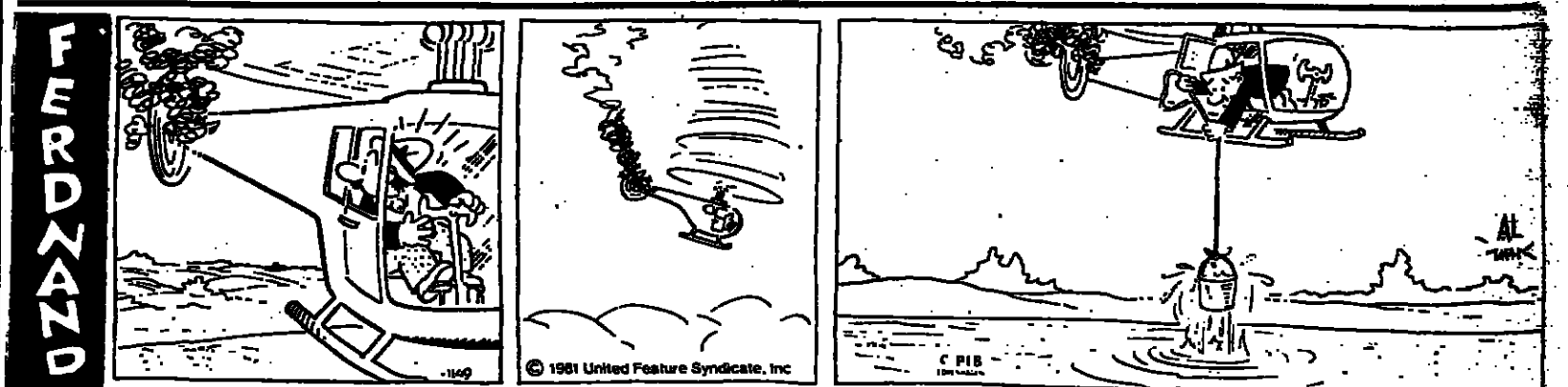
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WHAT'S ON

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Jerusalem

MUSEUMS
Israel Museum. Exhibitions: Permanent Collection of Judaism, Art and Archaeology. A Glimpse into the Past — The Temple Mount Collection — objects from the Ancient Near East. Trends in Art After 1945 — Representing such trends as neo-geometric abstraction and Pop. Reality/illusion — Children's exhibitions dealing with visual illusions in culture and art. Primitive Art from the Museum's Collection. Royal Hunters and Divine Lovers — Indian miniature paintings from the 16th-19th century (J.M. Cohen Gallery). Towers of Spice — The tower-shape tradition in Havdalah spiceboxes (Library Entrance Hall). Bill Brandt — Photographs 1930-1980 (Goldman-Schwartz Gallery). Opening Exhibitions — The Oil Lamps Section — new items from the Lewis and Garden Warshaw Collection. Metaphors and Allegories — Superstition, Firenze (Pavlovsky Design Pavilion). Special Exhibit — Treasures of Silver Coins from Mammoth (Karmah) (Roman Gallery). Special Exhibit — Toys and Games of the Ancient World (Rockefeller). Special Exhibit — Hebrew Ostrakon from the fortress of Kadesh Barnea (Hebrew Script and Inscription Pavilion). Special Exhibit — Colour (Paley Centre, next to the Rockefeller). Special Exhibit — Adornment of a Jewish Bride, according to the tradition of Harni, Afghanistan. Special Exhibit — Selection of Drawings and Prints (Florentine Pavilion).
Vieling House: Main Museum 10-5. At 11: Guided tour in English. 10.30-12: Adventure Game in the Exhibitions (from age 9). Recycling Workshop (ages 5-8 with parents). E.S.O. Conference of Society for Jewish Art. "The Jewish Calendar and the Zodiac in Jewish Art." 3.30: Special guided tour (in English). Archaeology Galleries.
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MISCELLANEOUS
Plant a Tree with Your Own Hands! For details and/or tour reservations, call Jewish National Fund, 02-635261, ext. 13.
Tel Aviv
MUSEUMS
Tel Aviv Museum. Exhibitions: 1. Swiss Drawings 1970-1980. 2. Swiss Artists from the Annamie and Victor Loeb collection. Hans Pinn, Photographer and His Time; Judith Levin 1981/82; Piss and Jole de Vries.
Visiting Hours: Sat. 10-2; 7-10; Sun, Mon, Tue, 10-10. Wed. closed. Thur. 7-10. Fri. closed. Helena Rubinstein Pavilion: Sat. 10-2. Sun, 9-4; 5-8. Wed., Thur., Fri. closed.
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WIZO: To visit our projects call Tel Aviv, 232939; Jerusalem, 226060; Raifa, 89537.
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What's On in Haifa, dial 04-640840.
Rehovot
The Weizmann Institute. Open to public from 9.00 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. Visitors invited to see audio-visual programme on Institute's research activities, shown regularly at 11.00 a.m. and 3.15 p.m. Friday 11.00 a.m. only. Tours of the Weizmann House every half hour from 10.00 a.m. to 3.30 p.m., Sunday to Thursday. Nominal fee for admission to Weizmann Institute.
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Tel Aviv: Yami, 67 Yehuda Halevi, 612474. Concept, 9 Gileberg, 490020.
Nabanya: Kapot Holim Leumit, Smilanski, 38033.

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Ashkelon 23333; Netanya 23333.
Beer Sheva 78333; Petah Tikva 912333.
Eilat 72333; Rehovot 51333.
Haifa 22333; Rishon LeZion 942333.
Holon 501333; Safed 30333.
Nahariya 923333; Tiberias 20111.

"Kran" — Mental Health First Aid. Tel.: Jerusalem 669911, Tel Aviv 25311, Haifa 53888, Beersheva 32111, Netanya 35316.
Rape Crisis Centre (24 hours), for help call 02-234819, Tel Aviv, 04-88791 Haifa.

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KEEP YOUR EYES OPEN!
REPORT SUSPICIOUS
OBJECTS

Parts made in Carmiel used by Saudi Arabian Air Force

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

CARMIEL — Cyclone Aviation Products — Israel's largest private airplane parts manufacturer — has produced parts for F-15 planes belonging to the Saudi Arabian Air Force.

This was revealed by the company's general manager, Moshe Harel, during a tour of the company's manufacturing facilities here. The tour was organized to promote the company and thereby help raise some \$100m. — half of it through the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

The specific part reportedly earmarked for the Saudi F-15 is a gun access door panel. According to Harel, Cyclone is the sole manufacturer of this door and although the Americans have the equipment to produce it themselves, they have subcontracted the work to the Israeli plant.

Consequently the silver coloured

panels with Cyclone's small triangle emblem are the only ones used in the U.S. in producing the F-15, reporters were told.

Part of the \$100m. the company wants to invest in development is intended to increase automation. If all plans materialize, employment will increase from the current 400 to 600.

Cyclone's production includes building 70 per cent of the Kfir's body and doors for the DC-10. It also specializes in repairing and maintaining all types of helicopters used by the Israeli Air Force.

Plans are afoot to build an attack drone, and specifications are being drawn up. Haim Yaron, the chairman of the company's board of directors, explained that once the specifications are ready, his company will try to sell the drone to the defence establishment. If the government is not interested, he will seek permission to export such pilotless planes.

By JOSEPH MORGENTHAU
TEL AVIV — Plenty of sellers came to the market yesterday, but they discovered that buyers were few and far between and at best not too willing. Newspaper headlines describing the prospect of an Israeli invasion of Lebanon were the immediate cause that triggered the selling wave.

In a classic case of over-reaction shares were dumped unmercifully. The statistics tell the tale. A full 95 securities could not be traded and

Buyers fleeing the market place

were established as "sellers only." Their prices were lowered by the mandatory 5%.

The general share index, not including the bank sector, was down by nearly 4%.

Due to many issues that could not be traded, volume was relatively modest at IS323m.

Buyers were apparently attracted by the index-linked bond market.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

Various sectors of linked bond trading were up by up to 3% in a session which saw just over IS133m. change hands.

With few exceptions there was strong demand for commercial bank shares, and they responded by advancing by moderate margins. However, the Danot and FIBI securities were all registered as "sellers only."

There were plenty of 10% losers. In the land development and real estate group, for example, these included ICP, Isro, and Isras op-

tions, Modul Cement, Israel Land Development and Azorim options. More of the same was visible in the industrial group. Teva (B) was down by 10%. Umar, Shemen and Ta'al were down by similar amounts.

Investment company securities were also sharply lower as the "buyers only" sign was visible in most parts of the list.

Among oils Paz was down by 10%, while Fedoil and Naphta were "sellers only."

Rush on Argentine banks

BUENOS AIRES, (Reuters) — The prospect of conflict with Britain has thrown major new question marks over Argentina's economy, already racked by big debts abroad and the world's highest rate of inflation at home.

The government, private investors and housewives are still struggling to come to grips with what would mean for a country living under a tough official austerity programme.

Since Argentina seized the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands ten days ago, many savers have pulled their money out of fixed-term deposits to find new ways of hedging against economic uncertainty.

Many people who queue outside banks to withdraw their savings immediately rush to the supermarkets to stock up on food.

Argentina's inflation is now estimated at almost 150 per cent — the world's highest, but comparatively modest compared with levels of between 700 and 1,000 per cent before the military takeover in 1976.

The country owes about \$34 billion to foreign banks, of which about half was raised in London. Argentina will have to pay \$7.2b. in interest and capital repayments on that debt this year and desperately needs further loans to ensure that it does not default.

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Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing DirectorTHE JERUSALEM
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Nissan 19, 5742 • Jamadi-Thani 18, 1402

Exploiting a tragedy

THE CHRONOLOGY of violence on the Temple Mount may, superficially, suggest a regular sequence.

First there was Denis Michael Rohan, a certifiably deranged Christian from Australia, who started a fire in Al Aksa Mosque in the hope, as he said, of clearing the way for the restoration of the Jewish Temple. Then, yesterday, there was a young man, apparently a deranged Jew from the U.S., who reportedly seeking to "avenge friends and relatives," shot his way into the Dome of the Rock, killing two persons — both Arab — and wounding others in the process.

But these violent incidents were in fact separated by thirteen years of relative quiet in the Temple Mount under Israel's rule. The quiet was only occasionally broken by groups of noisily protesting Arabs and by bands of Jews whose efforts to pray on the mount were thwarted by the police.

In other lands during those years the sanctity of religious sites was not invariably preserved with complete success. In November 1979 the Holy Mosque of Mecca was attacked by a gang of Moslem fundamentalists who held parts of it for several weeks before they were completely subdued. In May of last year, in Vatican City, an attempt on the Pope's life was made by a Moslem Turk.

It is a safe bet, however, that yesterday's outrage, perpetrated by a Jew, will have an especially powerful resonance. The Temple Mount is a focus of Moslem religious and political passions and it is therefore an easy political instrument for rallying the divided Moslems, all over the world, to the defence of the faith against the infidels. Thirteen years ago reckless charges were flung around of Israeli connivance, active or at least passive, in the crime. Israel's foes are sure to repeat them again.

Israel's responsibility for maintaining order is, of course, without question, since it is the custodian of the holy places throughout Jerusalem.

Thus, it was the Israeli security forces that jumped into the fray as soon as the first shots were fired, and it was an Israeli police officer who finally disarmed the gunman. Then Israeli lawmen still had to contend with rampaging crowds of vengeful rock throwing and knife wielding Moslems on the warpath, who set upon buses of foreign tourists.

Yet clearly yesterday's tragic incident holds some instructive lessons for the Israeli authorities. It is plain that entry to the Temple Mount must no longer be freely granted to armed persons merely because they show up in a uniform.

More important, as Jerusalem's Teddy Kollek suggested in a radio interview yesterday, attention must at long last be paid to the groups of violently extremist Jews, whether orthodox or nationalist, who run around unchecked, giving the impression that they are above the law merely because they are Jewish. Their example is dangerous, and it is liable to be contagious.

The extremism of private violence, whether Jewish or Arab, must be declared taboo. The Higher Moslem Council has a function to perform in disciplining rowdy Moslems and its decision yesterday to declare a strike serves only to stir passions.

Nor must it seem as if rowdy Jews, or at least some kinds of them, are exempt. Unfortunately today some kinds are, and this is hardly a recipe for peaceful coexistence in a mixed city of Jews, Moslems and Christians.

POSTSCRIPTS

A MAN who said he was the former king of Afghanistan was honoured in Yonkers, New York, recently with a mayoral proclamation. Now it seems he was never a king and may not even be an Afghan.

A State Department spokesman said the man, Hassan Durrani, "is not an Afghan" and "no Afghans believe in him."

The spokesman, who asked not to be identified, said Durrani apparently has a British passport, and groups who have researched his claims think he may have a Tunisian or Pakistani background.

When Durrani came to Yonkers, Mayor Angelo Martinelli issued a proclamation honouring him. Durrani appeared at a city council meeting, appealing for support for

Afghan freedom fighters opposing Soviet military intervention.

After Durrani's comments, a moment of silence for Afghanistan was observed in the city council.

Reports on his visit appeared in several Westchester County newspapers, on local radio and on cable television in Yonkers.

Durrani said he was a son of the late King Amanullah Khan, who reigned from 1919 to 1929 and promulgated Afghanistan's first constitution. Amanullah Khan abdicated in 1929, fleeing to Italy, where his oldest son, Prince Rahmattullah, still lives in a villa outside Rome.

After hearing of Durrani's appearance, the Freedom House in New York City, which provides information on international human rights issues, said it has found that Durrani has been discredited by numerous publications and Afghan groups.

THE LABOUR Party's malaise stems from more than a leadership crisis or institutional malfunction. It reflects the deeper problems of ideological redefinition and reformulation of the meaning of *halutzut* — pioneering. The Labour Party, as the political arm of the Labour Movement, must be concerned with implementing its ideals and not just gaining power. Labour must be a fighting and a constructive opposition.

Historically it has been the implementation of a programme of pioneering and innovation which helped Labour gain and maintain power. David Ben-Gurion was elected to the chairmanship of the Jewish Agency in 1935 because he represented a movement with 20 years of "halutzit" achievements. He received the votes of many non-socialists. Labour did not need direct power to implement its halutzit programme; it gained direct power as a result of that implementation.

Labour Zionism made its entire contribution to *halutzut* while in the opposition. The kibbutzim, the moshavim, Histadrut, Hvatat Ovdim, Kupat Holim — the entire skeleton of the state-in-the-making — was created when Labour did not exercise direct political control over the Zionist Movement.

This historical example must be the reference point for renewing Labour and eventually returning it to power. True, the historical comparison is not symmetrical. Weizmann and Ruppin, though non-socialist leaders of the Zionist Movement, were in complete sympathy with Labour's programme and were often its most eloquent spokesmen. Their attitude was quite different from the overt hostility of the present Likud government. But the infinitely greater power of Labour institutions such as the Histadrut and the kibbutzim more than compensates. They would enable us to implement a halutzit programme even in the face of government hostility — if only we could define such a programme and mobilize the spirit and enthusiasm to carry it through. For it is the dimming of our own inner fire, and not Likud hostility, which inhibits us.

A call has gone out from certain quarters for a "return to origins" — back to the roots of our movement. To my mind this is wrongheaded and reminiscent of the kind of desperate perverted nostalgia for

Space-age socialism

The Labour Movement must return not only to its ideology but also to original thought, writes TSVI BISK.

heroic expression of the pioneering spirit which is characterized by Gush Emunim. Many in Labour view Gush Emunim with a certain jealousy and rightly see the lack of a Labour alternative as one of the chief reasons that Gush Emunim has so successfully harnessed the idealism and energy of our best youth.

But this call for a return to anachronistic ideology and programme will only further widen the gap between ideal and performance which has caused so many of Labour Zionism's most sublime creations to appear hypocritical and grotesque in the eyes of the Israeli public.

WHAT IS NEEDED is not a return to origins but a return to originality. The question is to properly define today's national challenges; for nothing is as dangerous to national survival as outdated solutions to current problems. What is needed today and what kind of response is likely to satisfy these needs?

No single institution has dominated the Zionist enterprise as has the kibbutz. There was a time, not so long ago, when one was either on a kibbutz, on his way to a kibbutz, or apologizing for being neither on a kibbutz nor on the way. This fact was not an exercise in utopian romanticism; it was the essence of practical Zionism. The kibbutz absorbed aliya, settled the country, defended the country, built the economic base of the country, and preoccupied itself with creating a new Jewish type suited to face, the challenges of the Zionist enterprise. All this in addition to the extraordinary socio-economic experiment which was the kibbutz itself.

Although it is generally recognized that the kibbutz movement and its individual members still make a national contribution out of all proportion to their numbers, the kibbutz cannot satisfy national needs to the degree it did in the past. We are faced with different national tasks which require new initiatives.

READERS' LETTERS

FRENCH QUEBEC AND ISRAEL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir — You recently published articles and letters dealing with the situation of our fellow-Jews in the Canadian province of Quebec.

All three of us, members of the Tel Aviv University academic staff, have been there last years in this province as visiting professors, teaching — two of us for a whole year — at the Université de Montréal, which is the heart and brain of the Quebecois national movement — after having been the cradle of its cultural and linguistic renaissance.

Our colleagues, French-speaking Canadians, and our students knew of course that we were Jews and Israelis; we met everywhere only with friendship and sympathy. We have spoken to many Quebecois, from people met in the street to the leaders of the present provincial government, including the Prime Minister René Lévesque. We are deeply convinced that the French Canadians have completely outgrown the primitive stages of their national movement, which, in the twenties and thirties, was tinted with Catholic clericalism.

As Israelis who bear in mind the struggle our predecessors had to wage in order to impose Hebrew as the national, cultural and teaching language in our country, we fully understand the Quebecois' endeavours in favour of their own French language. Of course, we would have preferred to see the Jews of the province of Quebec learn Hebrew and come to Israel. But as long as they stay there, they have, of course, to learn the tongue of the land, and no anti-Semitism is implied in fulfilling this basic duty of a citizen. We were happy to meet there hundreds of Jews who understand this perfectly. And also to have had the occasion to make the ac-

quaintance of a brave and struggling nation, friendly and tolerant, and most willing to entertain the best of relations with the State of Israel.

DR. ELI BARNAVI
PROF. MICHAEL HARGOR
PROF. DAVID MENDELSON
Tel Aviv.

PENFRIENDS

MARJATTA SCHIER (40), of Vanhaistentie 14 I 139, 00420 Helsinki 42, Finland, is married with two children and would like to exchange ideas with an artistic woman. She works as a translator for a Finnish newspaper and is interested in the arts and literature.

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